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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1867

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NEW TRADE UNION PAPER'S COMMENTARIES ON CURRENT SITUATION

Editorial Introduces Tone of Publication

Szczecin JEDNOSC in Polish No 1, 10 Jan 81 pp 1, 2

[Editorial]

[Text] Four months have passed since the end of the August strikes, which began the successive period of renewal in our postwar history. This has been a time full of dramatic events. More than once we have lived through moments of the greatest uneasiness concerning the fate of our country. It seemed as though the most fundamental values for us all were in danger: national existence and the independence of the state. Forces inimical to the nature of the changes taking place unceasingly fed on social misgivings and tried to evoke tensions in which the smallest provocation could run us the risk of anarchy and chaos.

We managed to avoid the menacing dangers once more, confirming that we are capable of directing our fate in the proper way. Painfully taught by the experience of years past when the tremendous capital of human faith squandered many times, this time we managed not only to draw the right conclusions but also to find sufficient strength to implement them in practical social life.

The creation of the Solidarity trade union, as the result of the workers' demands, a trade union independent both of the state administration and of political organizations, is to provide in the common mind an assurance that the process of renewal will run in keeping with the will of the society, which obtained through it the indispensable tools of control over the authorities. The experience of the past months has confirmed these hopes, although we must admit that each day all sorts of difficulties linked to the implementation of the tasks facing the union appear with increasing clarity.

A basic condition to the changes taking place is openness of political and social life and complete reliable information about all the problems of importance to the country. From the beginning of its existence our union appreciated the significance of this problem. Hence the lengthy, stubborn efforts for access to the mass media.

Today we are giving our readers the first issue of the regional weekly JEDNOSC, published by NSZZ Solidarity of Western Pomerania. We are a union publication representing the interests of the working class, all working people. Therefore, we consider it our moral obligation in keeping with the truth to present all matters concerning the conditions of life and work of just these social groups. Aware of the tremendous amount of harm done by the propaganda of success waged in our country for many years, we nonetheless do not intend to counterpose it with the propaganda of defeatism and discontent.

Consistent with the aims of the union we intend to bring to light the mechanisms of the violation of the rights due to working people and to demand a fair, honest division of goods produced by these very strata, because it is our position that the constitutional principle of equal rights, duties, and privileges of all the citizens of our country regardless of the position held, organizational membership, or world outlook should be proved in daily practice. This is the one chance to eliminate from our life the lordliness [lording it over others], eagerness for gain, and living beyond the condition of specific social groups, phenomena which are not justified by anything in our regime conditions and which build up the antagonisms of the society.

Focusing our attention on issues proper to the union movement we notice a tremendous opportunity thereby to shape positive civic attitudes full of genuine commitment. Hence, not limiting ourselves to a description of the phenomena and facts which awaken our joint uneasiness, we intend insofar as possible to popularize broadly conceived political culture, bringing in information about the mechanisms of the functioning of our society.

In implementing these goals we feel that discussion, straightforwardness, and the clashing of views are an essential condition. We are interested in honest discussion based on sincere, straightforward arguments free of demagoguery and slogans. The concept of unity, which is the name of our weekly publication, must in no way mean giving up the richness of attitudes and opinions.

The publication which we are giving you is a continuation of the information bulletin of the same name which appeared in the past. We should like to avoid all the weaknesses of the former publication while continuing its good points: lack of compromise, intellectual honesty, and courage in the selection of subject matter, because only these features can assure the publication of social response, which is its raison d'etre. At the same time this is an absolute condition for the proper continuation of the renewal process begun in our country in August.

State-Party, Trade Union Limits of Responsibility

Szczecin JEDNOSC in Polish No 1, 10 Jan 81 pp 3-4

[Article by Piotr Buczkowski: "The Limits of Responsibility"]

[Text] With increasing frequency we find in the mass media an appeal for responsibility on the part of the labor unions with regard to the fate of the country, the functioning of the economy (in terms of the assumptions of the reform, which up to the present time is still far from being implemented), and so forth, and so on, and it does not take much to place the responsibility for the existing situation on no other than the trade unions for which the society fought at the moment when everything literally ceased to function normally.

The signing of the agreement between the government and the representatives of the striking workers was tied in with certain obligations on the part of the state and party authorities concerning the execution of a number of demands. Up until now, despite undoubted gains by the society, the authorities have not succeded in discharging themselves of all the obligations. Despite official declarations, it all looks as though the authorities are having problems with implementing all the charges they accepted in the agreements signed. The thing is that the deadlines set for carrying them out have proved to be too short to be able to put all the stipulations into effect.

I am not interested in the fact that there has been too little time, as some people seem to be suggesting. It has been left up to the officials to take care of the obligations. Certain matters actually do require a number of adjustments which take more than than that allotted. What I am interested in is the authorities' relationship and attitude towards the agreements themselves. Actions up to now seem to show that the authorities have decided to sign them in the "hope" that this would quiet down the society, so that afterwards, in keeping with the past tradition of the 1950's and 1970's it would be possible slowly to move away from the obligations undertaken. In other words, the signing of the agreements by no means obliged them to respect them in full, in the idea of the initial assumptions of the authorities, because it was a question of easing the tensions and keeping the authorities in power, in order to return to the "normal" form of exercising authority after the wave of disturbances had subsided.

On the other hand, reality proved to be different from these initial assumptions. For the first time in the history of socialist societies, the society itself obtained a real institutionally guaranteed possibility of demanding that the authorities discharge themselves of the responsibilities they had undertaken. It has turned out up until the present time that the new trade unions are actually an independent, real force capable of forcing the desired action on the part of the authorities. One more comment: the government authorities' signing of the

agreements is binding not only on the person who signed these agreements but also the whole governing "team" and hence even more so all the members of the authority regardless of who personally belongs to it in a given area. This is guaranteed by the leading role of the PZPR. And in the same way, just as not only a few persons in the previous leadership are responsible for the situation which arose but the whole leadership apparatus, so too this very same apparatus must also be accountable for the way out of the current crisis. We must not thrust possible blame for the "incalculable" signing of the obligations on one or a few of its representatives. The entire authority must acquit itself of the obligations.

In the situation where it is impossible to discharge all the obligations attempts are made to disperse the responsibility over the entire society. NSZZ Solidarity is a good object. After all, it has a couple of million members. Therefore there is nothing simpler than to put the responsibility on just this organization. For the ordinary member of society, two parties signed the agreements: the authorities and representatives of the striking workforces. Therefore there is nothing to prevent switching the responsibility for their implementation also to the latter party as well. The history of socialist societies has many such "dialectical" manipulations.

Nevertheless, there is a certain problem with the above justificaion, which is eagerly accepted by certain representatives of authority. This is the fact that NSZZ is the party exacting delivery (on behalf of the entire society), while the authorities are the party carrying out the obligations. In addition, it is the authorities who have the jurisdiction in this matter as to the way out of the current difficulties. If this were not so, this would prove that the authorities were not fit to rule. As a further consequence, this would prove that the party's leading role was impaired, and the authorities cannot allow this to happen, for various reasons, exterior and interior.

In this situation it would be useful to "divide" up the responsibility, but how can we talk about the innocent society's responsibility for the situation? The projected economic reform assumes the distribution of responsibility over the entire society. This requires that the leadership responsibility be spread over the entire society, because it is a question of keeping any decisions of importance from the general social point of view from being made outside (!) society. This is also why if we are to talk about responsibility, it can concern society (including the new trade unions) only if it assumes the control and carries out all the decisions concerning it. In this situation the authorities cannot be the only factor. The state apparatus is to fill only the role of an "executive committee" which would be subject to ongoing control by the whole society, but until this happens, we must look for responsibility only among the state and party authorities.

Comments on Polish Political Socialist System

Szczecin JEDNOSC in Polish No 1, 10 Jan 81 p 3

[Article by Andrzej Glowacki: "Is It Really 'More Interesting Without a Title'?"]

[Text] The response below by Docent A. Glowacki, Deputy Director of the Institute of Social and Political Sciences, WSP, Szczecin, is a polemic voice vis-a-vis the views presented by Michal Kawecki.

Michal Kawecki published an article entitled "More Interesting Without a Title" in No 16 of JEDNOSC, dated 12 December 1980, an interesting article. In it are the great passion and emotional commitment of the author. Although one can generally agree with the main theme of the article, it is difficult to agree with an excessive number of statements included there.

First, the general condemnation of the position formulated in the work on the draft of the labor union law that a strike may be announced after all other possibilities have been exhausted is an expression of the author's subjective intentions. Such a position, however, does not fit in any way the requirements of realism. In all countries where there is the legal regulation of strikes, such a principle is observed. Such a principle is also included in the statute of NSZZ Solidarity in the regulations concerning strikes. It cannot after all be otherwise. If strikes are controlled by any sort of regulations, the strike always occur as the ultimate and most dangerous weapon. If other means have failed, only then may it be used. Hence, it is neither the good or ill will of the "power apparatus" as the author suggests, but regulation stemming from the labor movement's logic and rich experience.

Second, has the working class really been disinherited from power "for more than the past 30 years"? If the author thinks this about the whole period of People's Poland, would he think that it had an influence on the authorities in Poland between the wars or during the period of the partitions? The organized political movement of the working class in Poland has been in existence for 98 years, as the author probably knows perfectly well. If the working class ever had an influence on power in the state, it was only in the history of People's Poland, in my opinion, at least up to the beginnings of the 1950's and not only then. We can argue over the scope of this influence, but the working forces undoubtedly had this influence at least with regard to the leadership. The big influence on enterprise management was in the years 1956-1957 following the adoption of the first law on workers' councils. 2. Also the very fact that the worker demonstrations

overturned the country's political leadership in 1970 and 1980 is an argument against M. Kawecki's hypothesis, for when was there a similar instance in Poland's history? Never!

Third, what do quasisocialist relations mean? If the author is thinking about a model of socialism, what sort? In my opinion the socialist system like any other is subject to constant change. Probably one should accept as point of departure the models of socialism functioning at the present time in 16 countries and on the basis of them draw conclusions as to the virtues and defects. The theoretical models of the socialist system, such as the Communist Party of Italy or the Communist Party of Spain, and so on, have not been proved in practice. The author will probably agree that Lenin's vision of the socialist society is at variance with its implementation. If so, this means that alongside the virtues there are defects, whose causes must be established, so that they can be eliminated. M. Kawecki is coming out as an advocate of socialism, which means he probably agrees that despite the defects, the virtues in it predominate. If the virtues predominate, then can one imagine in practice a political, socioeconomic, or other such system without defects? Probably not. After all, the virtues in concrete social and historical conditions can become defects under others, and this is after all an elementary principle of dialectics and a generally known truism. Hence, I feel that the term "quasisocialist relations" is not a proper term, and beside this it is an oversimplification which the author borrowed from those leaders and activists on whom he himself wastes no sympathy. I will not indulge myself in defining what M. Kawecki calls "quasisocialist relations," because I think that this calls for far deeper scientific research and reflection.

Fourth, not every worker organization is a socialist one. According to Prof A. Czubinski's data, in prewar Poland the National Workers Party (NPR) was twice as strong in numbers as the KPP and PPS together, but it was after all not a socialist party but a Christian Democratic one, and it by no means expounded the slogans or principles of "Christian socialism," but openly fought all "socialisms" and "communisms." According to Prof F. Ryszka's research on the structure of the NSDAP, macro-industry workers accounted for the largest share (periodically exceeding 50 percent). Despite the fact that in name this party was "socialist" and "worker," it was after all not in fact socialist. NSZZ Solidarity is a workers' movement, but it is not thereby socialist in and of itself but only because of the fact that it recognizes the socialist regime.

Fifth, Article 52 of the Labor Code is not in and of itself "anti-strike," although it was exploited to fight against the strikers, owing to its lack of legal regulations concerning strikers and given the political rejection of strikers. After all, it is reasonable to fire an employee immediately, if he does not come to work and his absence is unjustified. This sort of basis for firing an employee effective immediately has existed in Polish labor law before the Labor

Code went into effect, and according to legal documents coming from the period between the wars. In the labor legislation of other countries too such a cause is reason for firing from a job, usually effective immediately. Therefore, why justify odium towards the Gierek team to present confusing facts when there are plenty of true, reliable facts upon which to draw?

Sixth, were the 1956 events the result of the fact that "the power apparatus did not represent the interests of the working class"? For some time I have been occupied with investigating the 1956 political crisis, and I would have grave doubts that one could assess the cause of that crisis. M. Kawecki does not nurture those doubts. I do not know on what he basis his conviction that the 1956 crisis was the result of the mass movement of the working class. The material I have collected to date shows that it was not the working class which was the force which caused the 1956 crisis, and I am willing to prove this hypothesis in a separate article.

A polemic reflection in closing. M. Kawecki writes that the power apparatus "is a contradiction and a negation" of the world of work. It seems to me that such a statement is extreme to excess. After all, within our Polish power apparatus there are far more genuine former workers (and even current ones in the representational bodies) than, for example, in prewar Poland. In one of the recent numbers of PANORAMA SLASKA I read a report that people advanced among the real miners who were mine directors proved to be the great central committee people (kacykami). In their past Wladyslaw Gomulka and Edward Gierek were workers. The issue is extremely complicated and emotional invectives will not accurately portray the essence of the matter.

In making the above comments, I would like the organ of our Szczecin NSZZ Solidarity to publish articles of assessment which are not emotional or erroneous in judging reality but true and objective.

It is easy now to criticize the authorities, the power apparatus, and so on where they are weak. But the authorities and the apparatus must exist. The problem is not to deny their dignity or deprive them of trust but to change the authority, if it proves to be bad or incompetent, and to do this in a normal institutional way, not under the pressure of mass movements under conditions which have led our country to the edge of nowhere. NSZZ Solidarity may truly be one institutional guarantee of this, but not the only one.

I think that we should conduct our country's political system to the end and make it lasting and stable. On the other hand, we must not bring it down. I may be wrong, but I have the impression that despite the author's intentions, M. Kawecki's article could even be used more to bring it down than to bring permanence and stability to an original Polish socialist political system, which is being shaped, although too slowly for my taste.

Golenlow Solidarity Group's Protest Note

Szczecin JEDNOSC in Polish No 1, 10 Jan 81 p 2

[Note from Golenlow Solidarity group at the Metal Working Enterprise No 1 to the Solidarity Interfactory Workers' Commission in Szczecin: "Solidarity Factory Commission Protest at Metal Working Enterprise No 1 in Golenlow"]

[Text] The Factory Commission of NSZZ Solidarity at Metal Working Enterprise No 1 in Golenlow, acting on behalf of the workforce of that enterprise, is filing a severe protest against the declarations of the representative of the government of the Polish People's Republic, the minister of Labor, Wages, and Social Affairs, Janusz Obodowski, which unequivocally show that the authorities have no intention of keeping the conditions of the social agreements made with the representatives of the labor world in Gdansk, Szczecin, and Jastrzab.

After several months of open discussion, the government is coming out with a proposal to introduce as of January 1981 a free Saturday every other week, pretending that there have been no agreements signed.

According to our workforce the issue is definitively closed, and any further discussion on this matter is pointless, because the mere bringing up of the subject undermines the validity of the agreements. In the context of the remarks of Minister Obodowski is revealed the tendency of the government of the Polish People's Republic to water down the gains of working people, which after all are the result of ponderous strike demands of just about the entire nation.

Furthermore, Minister Obodowski in his remarks degrades the jurisdiction of Premier Pinkowski, who earlier at the forum of the Sejm assured all Poles publicly that beginning in 1981 all Saturdays would be days off. Can we suppose here that the premier agreed to everything just to quiet the demanding nation?

Nor is the government's position acceptable. Nor are the motives by which the government is directed acceptable.

We think that it is the government's duty to fulfill the obligations it undertook to the end and that this will not have an unfavorable impact on the situation, but any attempts to depart from the spirit and letter of the agreements should be considered as a unilateral serious violation of the provisions of the social contract.

We are expressing the opinion that the government's last proposal regarding free Saturdays is an insult to the working class of our country and as such should be met with a decisive stance on the part of our NSZZ Solidarity unions. The government's antilabor acts should be unconditionally halted, because they are an offense against all Poles.

Independent of the previous statements, we are all bothered by the fact that at the current stage the largest representative of the working world, NSZZ Solidarity, which we consider the leading force in the world of work in Poland and desire to continue to do so, was not included in such an important discussion.

With regard to our enterprise, we feel that if we have assured an adequate supply of material and technical support, we will carry out our production tasks while maintaining proper economic relations with a five-day work week. We also think that in the event of difficulties with the uniform standardization of the matter throughout the country with regard to all professional groups, the decision on the granting of Saturdays off should be determined solely by the Factory Commission of a given plant in cooperation with management. The workforce of the Metal Working Enterprise is calling on the Interfactory Workers' Commission of NSZZ Solidarity to take energetic action concerning the government's most recent proposal.

NSZZ Solidarity
Metal Working Enterprise No 1
Goleniowo

Goleniow, 24 December 1980

Trade Union Structure in Factory

Szczecin JEDNOSC in Polish No 1, 10 Jan 81 pp 4, 5

[Article by Janusz Czanka: "Union Organizational Structure in a Factory"]

[Text] A condition to a union's gaining a lasting position in the work establishment is its organization within a suitable structure. This structure must take the following into account:

--the fact that differences exist between the possibilities of people who bear the trust (through election) and the possibilities of those who really have a predisposition for properly directed work (interest in the subject, specialization, and so on);

--the frequent occurrence of harmful so-called "straw enthusiasm," which in time causes deepening destruction of the organization,

--the need to create safeguards against the observed tendency (even of the most valuable individuals) to simplify the procedural stratum, and therefore to permit changes in interpretation which are of greater and greater advantage to oneself.

At the beginning are the factory-level union official position elections. As a footnote we can say that proper candidate advertising, which can have a positive or adverse effect on how representative elections are, plays a large role.

left at the battle site following the elections is a small group of trusted dilettantes who really may be able to handle the duties entrusted to them better than anyone else, but they are not in a position to handle in a professional way all the matters which come up to be settled.

I have met the view that this is the very reason why the Factory Commission (KZ) should select issues and handle only the most important ones, rejecting the others.

I feel that typically instrumental restrictions cannot be an argument here (the structure should be adapted to the needs and not vice versa).

I think that the Issues Commissions (Komisje Problemowe) can fill such a role.

In the first stage of action the Factory Commission should determine, on the basis of the statutes of the Solidarity Union, the indispensable areas of its activity and appoint for work as many issues commissions. For example, there will be commissions on industrial safety and hygiene, social affairs, the humanization of work, housing, penalties and awards, law and order, hiring and firing, union finances, wages, and vacation leave.

The Factory Commission should appoint from among interested union members the chairmen of the various issues commissions who, in the opinion of the Factory Commission, are most suited to conducting the work of the commissions entrusted to them.

Next, the newly appointed chairmen set up groups from among those interested in such work. The membership of the groups is approved by the Factory Commission.

In the course of the work, the issues commission chairmen and members are sent to attend suitable courses of study, and appropriate titles are added to their library collections.

Each commission keeps its own documentation.

The commissions are authorized to operate in the plant, that is, to make all decisions and handle all the matters entrusted to them by the Factory Commission.

The issues commissions have the discretion in making their decisions.

As one can see, it is the Factory Commission's task to set up union work, to establish the framework for its direction, and to see that none of the commissions created upsets the rhythm of work and, more important, that they do not betray the interests of the whole (maneuvers or excesses of the authorities, favoritism, etc).

In the event that excesses are confirmed, the Factory Commission should immediately remove from the commission the Issues Commission members or chairman, as appropriate, and present them for punishment, turning the work over to others. The Factory Commission may not in any event undertake decisions for the Issues Commission or change them.

In the event improprieties are found, it may only suspend a decision which has been improperly made and present the matter again for review by a changed group.

Department Commission also work in the work establishment, alongside these commissions.

They have broad authority and handle department matters except for the most difficult ones, which they refer to the appropriate Issues group.

The structure proposed above handles the following tasks:

Union members elected to the Factory Commission will actively oversee the proper direction of action of the organization, adhering to the procedures and statues, and after all, they have received the credit of trust through election.

Trade unionists working on the Factory Committee will have independence, which will give them satisfaction from their work. They will also be able to attain a higher level of knowledge and practice, owing to specialization.

Because of the large Issues commissions, it will be possible in the course of work to eliminate unsuitable persons and to add others. Owing to the attraction of a large number of persons to union work, there will be a far smaller burden of work (compared to the past operation of the old union This will make it possible for the activists' work to be more peaceful and more long-range.

And there is still one more thing. It follows directly from what I am proposing that I do not expect activists to work on several commissions at the same time but only on one.

Solidarity at Szczecin Fertilizer Plant

Szczecin JEDNOSC in Polish No 1, 10 Jan 81 p 6

[Article by Leon Szulga: "Days of Uncertainty and Days of Faith"]

[Text] For a number of years the Szczecin Phosphate Fertilizer Works, popularly called "Fosfory" in our town, has been known as an installation which is hard for the surroundings to accept, but it has been an essential element in the Polish chemical industry which was important

in the production of a specific commodity in short supply, phosphorous fertilizers. They employed more than 600 persons.

The workforce, especially long-time employees, recall the times when the work was an essential torment, a nightmare, and a necessary evil.

There was optimism in the 1970's. The expansion began. A department was set up to produce a fertilizer called triple superphosphate, TSP, which was to replace and eliminate at the same time the outmoded and not very profitable production of the low-grade granular superphosphate. The sulfuric acid production department was done away with. There were all the signs that we would be working and living better and better. The pay of the workforce increased. The management carried out all the indices imposed from above. It already seemed as though everything was going well, when all of a sudden, like thunder from heaven, the plant was hit with

Unexpected Difficulties

In connection with the application of modern processing technology, the industrial association decided to "take"away" job slots.

As though this was not enough, the next decision of the Association of Inorganic Industry called for a change in production technology. The effects were pitiful. The plant was forced to adapt machinery which had just been built for the production of a "new" assortment of items, that is, from several years back. In this connection there were them losses running in the millions, to say nothing of the losses resulting from the differences in the prices of the final product. Working conditions got worse. The dust level rose. There were emissions of gases harmful to health. The plant doctor had no cause to complain that there was nothing to do. Respiratory ailments became tremendous. There were also other, more dangerous diseases.

Alongside these problems within the plant there were nationwide problems. We began to feel the decline in the value of money and the sudden rise in prices on basic consumer items. There was no joy any more in the money being earned. A handful of employees, mostly in management or so-called activists, received raises in ways sometimes unknown to the workforce. To this very day this group remains loyal to the directors and quiet about their conditions. The rest - "female workers" working to keep more than one "drone."

The Factory Council was responsible for mobilizing people to work. It is true that it accepted all sorts of requests and applications from employees concerning a place in the employees' hostel, concerning subsidies for nurseries, preschools, or employee holidays, but in many other cases, it was powerless. Then came ...

The August Days to Remember

It was boiling hot in the country. At that time the plant was getting ready for the annual capital repairs. Every day employees from morning on nervously turned the papers of local newspapers, looking for new information "from their own courtyard," and from the country. Groups trying to set up a Plant Strike Committee were created.

Nevertheless they met with the disapproval of management. The telecommunications blockade in Szczecin, and after all the rest of the country, especially with Gdansk, brought about a mass joining of a number of plants in the strike. The annual capital repairs began in our plant. The workforce did not want to interrupt it. Outside firms like "Montokwan" in Katowice had already taken apart sections of the technological trains, so that if this work was interrupted, then we would be helpless and faced with the fact that we would not be able to resume production once the situation had returned to normal.

The Strike Committee came into being. It expressed solidarity on behalf of the workforce with the Szczecin Shipyard and with the Gdansk one, and it accepted and supported the postulates put forth by the representatives of these elements, at the same time presenting its own to the directors and the association.

It was created "last." Participants at the founding meeting accounted for about 10 percent of the workforce. The others were working other shifts or were on vacation. By the force of things the Factory Strike Committee (ZKS) nucleus was the management personnel and the so called sociopolitical activist group. The workforce did not participate in the distribution of functions.

One could have predicted that the leadership would be assumed by the individuals loyal to the directors and at the same time unpopular with the workforce. The chairman was the former Basic Party Organization Secretary, Ludomir Lewandowski, and his deputy the Plant Council leader, Zygmunt Czapski, who was upset by the events. It was only for secretary that a fellow worker was appointed, Tadeusz Rudzki. Most of the rest were sociopolitical activists.

The work of the committee boiled down to informing the workforce about progress on the repairs, about the implementation of a few postulates sent to the directors, but mainly to quieting the workforce and censuring people who were "too interested in the current events." Some ZKS members censured strikers from neighboring plants and put out false information to the workforce. It was probably only under the influence of pressure from the workforce that they made contact with the shipyard strike committee.

Official agreement was obtained there to continue the repair work. Meetings with the workforce were held every 2 or 3 days. They were

sterile and produced nothing. The workers and administration employees gave out more information on the situation developing in the city and the country from those close to them and people they knew working in other plants than the people whose task it was to pass on this information.

An agreement was signed, but the repair shut-down continued. All the indications were that we would get going with out any losses and that we would give the farmers the fertilizer for which they were waiting.

People knew what they wanted. The accusations of anarchy and antisocialist attitudes did not fit. They wanted renewal, the real kind, not that which had been taught at some time or another by compromised ideologists who had already gone off in disgrace. The only information brought to the plant from time to time was an issue of JEDNOŚĆ, and not always the current one. It was taken apart, so that everybody could read it a bit at a time. There were those who took clippings, replacing them with handbills printed by compromised industrial sector trade unions. They contained confusion and a misunderstanding of the issues of the country. This garbage was also read over the radio station, which had been silent up until then. The Strike Committee then was transformed into the Workers Commission, practically serving as the spokesman for the directors.

Several fellow workers from production who found themselves on it tried to improve this situation, but in this effort they were hindered by the misinformation and general chaos in the plant. Each of the commission sessions was attended by the executive committee of the Basic Party Organization, the plenum of the Plant Council, and the directors. The employees almost never found out what was discussed there. Attempts were even made to get the ZKR out of registering in the Szczecin Factory Strike Committee. It was only through the courageous decision of Rudzki that our plant was registered, and he gained the mandate of delegate to the session of the Szczecin Factory Strike Committee of NSZZ Solidarity. Since that time:

The Entrance of the New

Workforce signatures were collected to declare membership in the newly formed NSZZ Solidarity. The lists were sent to the Interfactory Founding Commission (MKZ). Dues were paid for organizational needs. And Fosfory followed other plants, with the difference, however, that to this very day they have not reached Solidarity's account. But they are on the move, for certain. The amount collected by the workforce is supposedly deposited in a plant account and is waiting for an official account number.

The uncertainty continued, but it was balanced by the belief that the period of "storm and tension" would pass. It was not simple either. The statute of NSZZ Solidarity was not accepted in its original version by the Voivodship Court in Warsaw.

The opponents were not sleeping either. They systematically disseminated among the "backward people" leaflets from the PZPR Voivodship Committee, which said bad things about the new union movement and its leaders.

After days full of tension, on 10 November the Supreme Court approved the statute without deletions and gave the Solidarity unions a legal identity. The party also recognized this fact. Therefore the spokesmen for the old system changed their tactics. The distribution of anti-union pamphlets stopped, but their work among the workforce was already having an effect. They began their undercover activity. All gaps in healthy democratic discussions were filled with gossip, accusations, denunciation...
There was no unity among the workers. The steel mill, the paper factory, and even "Police" [a factory] already had their plan of operation. At Ponfery practically nothing was working. Lewandowski governed in his old style on the Workers Commission.

Rudzki opposed his methods, thereby becoming the object of verbal abuse. And when there was an eye to eye meeting with the workforce, they emphasized their position regarding the chairman unequivocally. They pointed out those who had undermined the creation of Solidarity in the plant. At the same time they once again emphasized the lack of information and called for the setting up of a radio broadcast station for the needs of the commission. Here it became clear that not everything can be broadcast over the radio. That was the director's desire. As the former chairman of the ZKR said, "Nobody yet has changed the right for one person to manage the plant, so the decision about who and what goes on the radio is solely up to the director..."

The workers found out that the texts or tapes which had been recorded were censored. That was why nobody listened to them.

For example, how could they broadcast the words which Jacek Kuron uttered at the meeting with Szczecin area ZKR representatives at "Korab"? After all, he is an enemy of socialism and Poland!

Time Flies

People are demanding full implementation of the demands. The wage demand, being the most important, was "worked up" by a group consisting of the representatives from the ministry, management, the sociopolitical activists, and the Workers Commission. All employees received about 600 zlotys. There were those who felt that such a distribution was unfair,

but so what, since nobody really wanted to talk to them in a direct, straightforward way.

The workforce began to demand its rights more and more forcefully. They were not interfered in this by either the party organization or the activists of the old unions. The moment that Lewandowski, the ZKR chairman, resigned, the situation and climate immediately changed. Lewandowski said, " I do not want to join Solidarity. I belonged to industrial sector trade unions for 23 years and will continue to be loyal to them..."

Only now he understood his mistake?! Why did he not resign earlier? Similar decisions should also be made by his colleagues who tried with all their might to draw out as long as possible the process of setting up elections to the Factory Commission.

Here it must be said objectively that in the document of official declaration of Solidarity membership, Zygmunt Czapski, chairman of the Factory Commission, proved to be a great help. For the whole workforce he prepared full documentation concerning matters related to withdrawing from the industrial sector trade unions and joining the new ones. The directors realize that they will have to resolve all issues in the plant with a strong new partner, which Solidarity will be.

* * *

As we can see from the statement made by Fosfory's director general, Bronislaw Szczot, production is running properly. There are chances for our exceeding the targets a little. Because of the efficiency of the workforce, the plant has a supply of the basic raw materials, and the equipment operates without breakdowns. In terms of the assortment of items, we are now producing granular superphosphate, 19-percent P_2O_5, and the garden mixes "Fructus-1" and "Fructus-2" with microelements. Thirty percent of our entire production goes to the state sector and 70 percent to the private sector. Our workforce is interested in this sort of information, including as it does peasant-workers from nearby villages. They also want to know what the factory is offering them in the future, and the price at which they will be sold the fertilizer they are producing.

In the future, when the new trade unions become stronger, the possibilities of cooperating with other organizations will be weighed, but this process will be deliberate and peaceful, to avoid the sorts of errors which occurred in the past under the influence of various sorts of emotion.

The period of uncertainty is passing. All the demands, both national and plant demands, will be met. Lying and all evil will be surmounted by truth and goodness.

The plant's new union, Solidarity, will guarantee this.

Worker Social Awareness Analyzed

Szczecin JEDNOSC in Polish No 1, 10 Jan 81 p 7

[Article by Michal Kawecki: "A Voice in the Most Important Matters"]

> [Text] "It is only a political misconception that can still cause us today to imagine that the state must cement the life of citizens, when in fact it is just the other way around: The life of the citizenry cements the state." Karl Marx

We shall begin our deliberations by stating the real attitudes, views, and motives of millions of working people in Poland. It is impossible to hide the fact that during the past few dozen years there has been a considerable increase in the number of employees who have started to treat their work as something forced on them, as a sad necessity, or even as something which destroys their own life. And we must not be surprised by this! Because the working masses are disappointed and discouraged by the often absolutely inhumane conditions under which they are working in the factories and enterprises. Anyone who knows even a little bit about the realities of Polish industry knows perfectly well how great is the practice of endangering human health and life and placing them in jeopardy (accidents, occupational illnesses), how common the models are of poor organization of work for which the authorities are to blame (stoppages, extension of the working day, reductions in earnings), and how the spiritual needs of the working world are given little attention and are beaten down.

The whole gestalt of these conditions motivates people to change their place of employment frequently with little or no notice. For example, in 1977 about 500,000 young blue-collar workers quit their jobs without giving the required notice provided for by law. Convinced finally that in most enterprises and institutions things are basically the same and that they will never encounter a just attitude and treatment, the individual working man slowly loses his ideals and "adapts" (gives up, gives in, capitulates) to the world, instead of adapting the world to his own needs, that is, instead of changing it and humanizing it.

For the millions of rank and file workers nothing else is left but to focus on the external measure of human work, money. A person becomes spiritually impoverished when he accepts the sign for the essence, treating his pay as the meaning of work, in place of working as a means to a goal. No wage can compensate a person for what he loses in dehumanized work processes, because no sum of money can restore his health and "no equivalents, even high ones, for tedious work which interferes with the natural rhythm of biological life (author's note: the reference is to night work) of a person can have a beneficial impact on interest in work, on genuine commitment to it," says Prof Dr habilitatus Stefania Dzieciolska-Machnikowska.

Nor can any material compensation blot out psychological blocks and injuries or replace the missing respect for his work or his dignity which has been trod underfoot.

On the other hand, though, we cannot fail to appreciate working people's just aspirations to increase their earnings, since for example, the wages, pensions, and annuities which more than 7 million people in Poland find inadequate force them to live under extremely difficult conditions.

It is therefore difficult to be surprised that cash pay has become de facto the main form of compensation producing satisfaction.

But it does not define the deep meaning of human work.

Our country has gone through special experiences in its history, experiences which have taught us to notice and value the spiritual dimension of human existence.

By virtue of its national traditions, the working world in Poland must then have a completely different view of reality from that of many societies in many countries of the world, especially in the West.

We are a Catholic society, and it is true that Christian thinking contains within it many emphases demonstrating the spiritual values of human work. In "Promethidion" we can find this very eloquent phrase in which Norwid says: "It is a beautiful thing to take delight in one's work, work to be resurrected."

Past deliberations show that in the mind of the working class, the whole world of work, there is a constant battle being waged between two dynamic spiritual versions of reality: that found and that planned, between that which people are aware of as real reality and that which appears to them as yearned for reality. The instruments in this battle are the content of awareness each time historically described and accessible to scientific investigation. This content concerns the tremendous sphere of human work, which basically takes up the essence of human existence, because even something as far from work as play is in a clear way mediated in one's own or someone else's effort of work. It is worth recalling the words of the scholar who wrote: "If the worker's activity is torture for him, then for somebody else it must be the source of nourishment and the joy of living."

An example of the conflict dynamics of human awareness gleaned from Polish reality is the internal dispute in the hearts of millions of fellow countrymen between treating work solely as a source of obtaining money and sensing it as a good of a higher order, as the material-spiritual life which develops the human personality, because on the one hand we have numerous instances of proof of the dehumanization of work in quasi-socialist (not workers') states, but on the other hand, we have

the testimony of the spiritual, civilizing contribution of the work of generations, of a whole national tradition so closely tied in with Catholicism.

The next example in turn of the conflict filling and nourishing the spaces of the awareness of the working class in the severe struggle between the awakened needs of socialism and the topsy-turvy picture of our reality. The proletariat and with it the whole nation has accepted fully the idea of socialism, which in and of itself is beautiful and attractive, but it is not at any price able to bring itself into agreement with the picture presently existing in Poland of the reality which even now is a distortion of the idea and a complete denial of it.

The analyses presented up to the present time have concentrated solely on the conflict ridden sphere of the social awareness of millions of employees, but if we were to ask about the source of all sorts of spiritual conflicts of this type, then we should show the contradictions to be found in the real world, that is, in production relations and in the legal and political structures of the state.

During the past few decades in Poland a new system of social life organization previously unknown in our history has been taking the limelight among our pains. Its slow maturation is characterized by great dynamics, made greater by the constantly worsening contradictions. The most important of these is hidden in production relations. The contradiction to be found in them consists, generally speaking, of the private ownership of nationalized means of production. Class ownership is a strongly expanded power apparatus under whose control we find all the necessary means of ruler economic, legal, political, and cultural. To make it short: the power apparatus has the state at its disposal as its instrument and is omnipotent.

The state is not a state of the proletariat, as we can easily see if we recall the workers' involvement in the events of 1956, 1970, 1976, and 1980.

On the other hand, examining Poland's postwar history, we can clearly see that the power apparatus is gradually and systematically being separated from work. The above-mentioned relationship has far-reaching implications for the socialist development of our country. In the highly developed capitalist countries the mastery of power is a curse to the world of work, which knows that it is being exploited but which also gains certain benefits from expanding engineering and technology, benefits which are not large compared to the other side but sufficient for a decent material existence (goods of this type are valued beyond reason, to absurdity!!!). In other words, capitalist power manages to intensify work, without giving up its enslaving or exploiting nature.

On the other hand, in our country the power apparatus acts as an absolute denial of work, as a compelling force, and at the same time as a force which weakens nationwide work.

From this it follows that we are living in a period of worsening antagonistic conflicts forcing (actually forcing) the working class to organize itself on a national scale and to laboriously work out a wise concept of socialism, developing as an issue of the collective, thought-out effort of that class. The workers' trade union movement, Solidarity, is the first successful attempt to organize millions of workers. Its success in the future will be determined by the proper definition of the tasks and program of action.

We can suppose that the apparatus of authority will be tremendously concerned about effective support from the working world, about bringing it into share in governing within limits which will not permit the monopoloy on power to be lost, about enticing workers with mirages, and about creating perfect images of people's power.

By not completely withdrawing from a share in governing and thereby acquiring certain experience (basically bitter experience), the Solidarity trade union movement is becoming convinced that the way to improvement of the republic is closed. Our union will gradually become more and more interested in working out a completely new concept (a socialist one in the strict sense) of governing the country, at the same time developing ever fuller workers' control over the apparatus of authority. In the meantime -- and this is very important -- the proletariat must expand the workers' movement with new forms of organization, like regional and nationwide workers' councils for the purpose of social attainment of ownership of nationalized means of production, taking them over as social property. The activity of the workers' councils and the activity of NSZZ Solidarity should basically be treated separately.

The deliberations could be carried still further, but we shall stop with the previous points, in the light of which the dynamic, conflict-ridden sphere of social awareness portrayed in the first part of this analysis is becoming more understandable now.

At the very end I should also like to share this reflection. Now all the conflicts and contradictions which cannot be resolved in the plane of awareness can be resolved only by changing the world, that is, adapting it to the needs and expectations of the human community. But to change the world means to develop theoretical acts of cognition and then practical means of verification. Then a condition to transforming the world is wisely planned human work, thought out and agreed upon collective effort of millions of working people. And the example of the experience of August 1980 shows that collective effort will produce effects.

'False Opinions' on TV Criticized

Szczecin JEDNOŚĆ in Polish No 1, 10 Jan 81 p 7

[Article by (EK): "Regional Planning and Food Problems"]

[Text] I should like to voice strong protest against the dissemination of false opinions through the intermediary of television.

On "Can We Feed Ourselves?" a program aired on 11 November, the issue of the management and use of farmland was brought up. I do not know what areas of science the titled gentlemen taking part in the program represent. On the problem of withdrawing farmland from use and converting it to urban development they did not exhibit even elementary familiarity but counted this phenomenon as one of the major reasons for the difficulty of feeding the nation, although they spoke with great assurance. Let me tell you that the land of urban settlements occupies about 1 percent (that is, in words, one percent) of the area of the country (Vide: J. Gegulskie: Rozwoj miast w Polsce (Development of Towns in Poland), Warsaw, PWN, 1980, pp 139-141). If there was a sudden need to shift all the towns to new spots and out of 111 will selected only agricultural land, then the share of the country's acreage devoted to farmland would decline from 61.9 percent to 60.0 percent. Maybe this makes some difference to somebody, but not to me. (To make things more interesting, this index was 61.5 percent in 1950). The next misunderstanding is the reference to the land not built on within the boundaries of towns. This land is a reserve for services and installations of public utility in those execution we are decades behind. It is also part of what we call the open-land or green-belt system, an undeniable achievement of 20th Century urban planning. This unused land which they are so eager to use for the development of the towns represents barely 1.4 percent of the area of the country. It consists for the most part of rocky ground, steep banks, swampy areas, and so on. This is not land suitable for building, and the distribution of such land does not coincide with the needs of urban development either. Residential land must be designated in areas with the best climate and located in a definite way in relation to existing built up areas. Owing to the current state of collective and private transportation and that shaping up for the future, and also owing to the conditions stemming from the technical infrastructure, we cannot afford to locate urban areas just anywhere or be guided solely by the quality of the soil.

Regional planning on each scale takes into account about 30 factors which have an impact on the location and shaping of an area. Soil value is one of these factors, but it cannot be the only one or the most important one. The participants to the discussion attached great hope to a new law on the protection of agricultural land. I should like to point out that even now the regulations are absurd the way they treat the value of farmland, leading to the disintegration of urban lands.

Forestry and agriculture enjoy privileges which reach beyond their understanding of the problem. This is a typical example of Poland's division into sectors.

They indirectly determine [illegible] in which they are completely ignorant. The easiest thing to do is to say "No!"

But perhaps the gentlemen showed what the further development of urban planning in the country would look like? Where are we to get the land for housing and other construction, if farmland, forests, and water occupy 92.2 percent of the area of the country? Let us recall at the same time that we have towns built in the 19th Century to thin out, towns in which housing fails to meet minimum sanitary standards. Let us recall that we are constantly building the most intensive residential construction in the world, and this has to change right away. In a discussion on feeding the nation I would rather hear how it is possible to be short of food in the seventh largest European country in terms of population while we occupy the following positions in the production of farm products: wheat -- fifth, rye -- second, barley -- seventh, oats -- second, potatoes -- second, sugar beets -- fourth, colo (rape) -- second, meat -- fifth, milk -- fourth, and eggs -- seventh (all the data come from the "Concise Statistical Yearbook 1975").

We are not "below the mark" for any item. Why is it that in countries with similar geographic conditions (I calculated the means for France, Belgium, Netherlands, Denmark, RFG, GDR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Austria, and Sweden) the yields per hectare are larger than Poland for all items, amounting to the following (Poland = 100): wheat -- 130, rye -- 129, barley -- 123, potatoes -- 130, and beets -- 125.

This can be explained in part by the higher consumption of chemical fertilizers in these countries (the index similar to the above is 123), but what do the 38.6 percent of the occupationally active people do in agriculture and forestry, if this index in the countries mentioned is 11.3 percent?

Appreciating the significance of proper land use, I propose that all the aspects be seen in their proper proportions and that we avoid striking out blindly.

Objectivity Within Solidarity Addressed

Szczecin JEDNOSC in Polish No 1, 10 Jan 81 p 8

[Article by Wladyslaw Daniszewski: "Free Tribunal; Let's Not Shout Down Reason"]

[Text] No 16 of JEDNOSC, dated 12 December [1980] began with an article by Ferdinand Wolinski entitled "Most Immediate Tasks." Both the title of the article and the content could lead readers to believe that it was a program statement of the Interfactory Founding Commission (MKZ) of Solidarity in Szczecin.

On 13 December I talked in front of the studio television cameras with Marian Jurczyk, Stanislaw, Wadolowski, and Stanislaw Kocjan on the subject of the most immediate tasks of Solidarity.

We talked about the need for a dignified ceremony for the victims of the tragic events in December 1970, the memory of people who gave up their lives in defense of social justice. We discussed the tasks which Solidarity had drawn up and which would be published at the beginning of 1981, and, as the conversation implied, which is obvious, they will be consistent with the statute of NSZZ Solidarity.

We explained that the views of Ferdynand Wolinski were published on the principle of a free tribunal.

In front of the cameras I expressed the opinion that as a member of Solidarity I did not agree with Mr Wolinski's views and that I would express this in the columns of JEDNOSC, which I am doing here. I will pass over the entire problem of, to put it mildly, the editorial office's clumsiness, which could mislead readers as to the program of action of the Interfactory Founding Commission.

And now to the heart of the matter. At the beginning of his statement Ferdynand Wolinski assesses the way our country has been run for the past 35 years. He writes:

"The economic successes (industrialization of the country) occurred thanks to foreign loans which were accepted without any sort of calculation. They led to the country's catastrophes." With these words, which the context indicates refer to the whole 35 years, he shows that he does not remember or does not want to know what our country looked like in 1945. His judgment insults the Polish nation. To avoid looking far afield, it was not the loans which formed the shipyards, ports, merchant marine, and deep-sea fishing. It was not loans which turned a nation of illiterates into a nation of educated people. It was not the loans which created the higher schools and cultural institutions. Nobody subsidized this or lent it to Poland. We must not hide the high-handedness, the losses created by expenditures which were not thought through, the people responsible for wrong decisions, the people interested in making careers for themselves, placing their interests above those of the state. But at the same time we must not equate our national fate with the existence of cliques which have grown up like parasites along with the whole organism.

Where did we get the faith, hope, and courage to join together for action which would get Poland out of the crisis? What sense would there be in looking for economic reforms, social structures, and self-government, if Poland was made up of bureaucracy, corruption, and indebtedness? How easy it is for us to change the propaganda of success into a hopeless feeling of disaster.

Ferdynand Wolinski draws abusive conclusions from untrue observations. He writes:

"The insolence, degeneration, and egocentrism not caring about anything, on the part of the pompous personages led the party to alienation from Polish groups. All that was left was the use of a single mother tongue."

This party did not become "a row of pickets in a fence protecting the private mansions of the pompous personages." It did not forget its progressive origin. In its essence it was and is a workers' party.

If the workers' protest mounted against the degeneration, against the distortions of socialism, was successful, then it was also because party members stood in its ranks, because this party had the strength and courage in the days of the workers' protest to make changes in the top positions of the party and to come out for the reforms essential to begin the difficult process of coming out of the crisis.

If it had been otherwise, August would not have been the beginning of a process of renewal but days of national tragedy for the Poles. Hence, how can someone write on the eve of the tenth anniversary of December: "In the days of August the party, as the so-called leading force of the nation, did not manifest even an ounce of patriotism"?!

This places in doubt the sound judgment and patriotism too of the author of those words.

There are many party members in the ranks of Solidarity. The leaders of the workers' strike committees and later when they represented the founders commissions of Solidarity talked "Pole to Pole" with members of the party leadership. So then whom does Ferdynand Wolinski want to offend? Why the most abusive possible talk in our country to upset the unity of our action? Whom does he want to build up and whom does he want to weaken?

There are many enemies of democratic changes taking place in Poland, both within our country and abroad. Despite them, day after day social stability is taking place. Ferdynand Wolinski is helping the most backward forces by making himself to be a superrevolutionary and a superpatriot. In his article published in the Solidarity bulletin under the title of "most immediate tasks" he lectures on rules of behavior which he has dreamed up and which are to be binding within the party, and he sets a structure for the party arbitrarily. Hence, he misleads the readers of JEDNOSC by suggesting that he is giving the most immediate tasks of Solidarity. The deliberations are not serious, because somebody could come to the conclusion that Solidarity has a statute for nothing.

Within the party a general, universal debate has begun before the extraordinary congress. The resolutions of the Sixth and Seventh plenums of the Central Committee are setting its direction. And this is the only way to change the party. Wolinski's sidetracks are of no significance here. The saying goes, "When they shoe a horse, a frog puts out his foot."

In that same No 16 of JEDNOSC, W. Wilczynski recalls the question of Professor Wladyslaw Witwicki:

"But can you censure a stupid, undisciplined person, since he cannot operate from good judgment?"

In answer to this question, Prof Witwicki responded as follows: "He should be censured, for the very reason that so long as he is stupid and bad, he cannot behave well. Stupidity is the capital source of bad action not permissible in society, even if the individual has good intentions. This does not relieve a person of responsibility, because this would mean that a stupid person should be left and not budged, because he is guiltless, like a sheep."

It is W. Wilczynski's intention to dedicate the above deliberations of Prof Witwicki solely to those who, in exercizing power in Poland, led us to social, political and economic crisis. I think that it should also be expanded also to include those who by criticizing everything our country and nation have done for three generations fail to notice that the time of renewal has come and requires calm, straightforwardness, and building up, and we must not fail to censure those who want to evoke social tensions, are undermining faith in what is progressive, drown out conversation and reflections with abuse, and try to undermine the credibility of the agreements made in Szczecin and Jastrzebie regardless of what positions come up.

Every newspaper article is a fact socially defined in time and place. It expresses not only the views of the author but intends to shape public opinion.

This is why as a member of the party and of NSZZ Solidarity I am calling for reason in the pages of JEDNOSC.

Wolinski Defends His Criticism

Szczecin JEDNOSC in Polish No 1, 10 Jan 81 p 8

[Article by Ferdynand Wolinski: "God Forbid Back Porch Demagogy"]

[Text] In a day of open conversations of Poles, conversations which have taken in the whole society, including the party, when one hears and reads a great deal of discussion concerning the past history of our social and

economic life, the response by editor W. Daniszewski entitled "Let's Not Shout Down Reason" is surprising. As the author of the criticized text invited to reply, although I was not anxious to, I nonetheless decided to write it, especially because the malicious content of the criticism is far from the forms adopted among adversaries, even those with extremely different views. W. Daniszewski's statement is insulting, because: 1) it accuses the opponent of abusive conclusions, 2) it casts doubt on his sound reason, 3) it charges that the deliberations are not serious (those concerning a limitation of the number of party positions paid for out of the state budget), 4) it ridicules the author of "Most Immediate Tasks" by citing an excerpt of a statement of Prof W. Witwicki from another article written by somebody else in the same issue of JEDNOŚĆ. Enough explanation. On to the issue.

There are easy and difficult readings. With the difficult ones, it is necessary to think, sometimes very intensively, which depends after all on the intelligence of the reader. On the other hand, we take in easy reading like a scrap of bread and butter. I tried to write "Most Immediate Tasks" in the most accessible possible way, but the consequence of this was that certain problems were handled in abbreviated form. These first few sentences run the whole period from 1945 to 1980 altogether. The small successes in the economy were mentioned here. These sentences do not deny the individual phases of the development of the country's economic life, with which we are all familiar, despite the fact that propaganda equal to that of the past few years did not accompany them. This was the period of the agricultural-industrial state. Let us recall that back in 1965, 49.7 percent of the population lived in the towns. It was not until 1970 that the country's industrialization grew suddenly, and this was just because of foreign loans. Propaganda was silent about the loans, but economic successes in the form of ever new investments were strongly brought out and constantly referred to. This spread-eaglistic policy was supposed to take care of all the defects rocking the economy, so that the lordly lifestyle of many party members would not upset the society too much.

In this situation, to accuse me of changing the propaganda of success into a hopeless sense of disaster is a blow below the belt, and to say that I draw abusive conclusions shows the absence of logical thinking, or pigheadedness.

Can we praise the First Secretary of the Voivodship Committee for calling the masses of workers rabble and hooligans? But after all, he was a luminary, for whom "noblesse oblige"!

The lack of the patriotism of the party in the first days of the August strike could be insulting, if it had been a lie. But here is the proof, just a few examples from among many:

•Why was it that daily the strikers were reproached that the state was losing tens of millions of zlotys each day, but for its part the party did not feel called to revise its position, not taking any means to eliminate those losses right away?

•Did the visible shortage of meat on the market not dictate the patriotic step to issue an immediate decree to keep hogs in all the towns, even the largest ones, wherever there are conditions for private or collective raising of hogs? We waited for this decree until just a little before the scandal with the piglets;

•How would you describe the holding of ships with fodder as their cargo in the Szczecin Port for 10 days and more, because the previous decree talked only about shifting shuttle trains and not about aggregates of single cars to various localities?

•Given the existing meat shortage, how would you describe the refusal of the slaughterhouse in Szczecin to accept by the contract deadline the 1,100 porkers for slaughter from the Dolice Combine?

Are such actions patriotic? These are antisocialist actions, because they cause harm to the nation and the state treasury.

The state economy can be compared to a family economy. But how do they act in our country? The bureaucratic machine, which has been built up to immeasurable size, has become bogged down because usually the people put into leadership positions have been party members who in many cases looked up, showing little initiative on their own, and what is more, often they did not have the right education. Their usually imperious decisions did not stick together, and often they brought losses. Proof is the installation in one of the hard coal mines, of a drilling machine to break down the rock, which was mixed with the coal. Or, another example; the First Secretary of the Voivodship Committee in Olsztyn who thinks he is a king with unlimited authority, saying that so long as he is in his position, he will not change a single director. Old methods, despite all the talk about renewal. And W. Daniszewski was terribly upset that I have my own opinion on the subject of the internal organizational structure of the party.

At the moment there is no clear picture of Poland, pulling itself out of the catastrophic situation, thanks to the broadly cut decentralization and the initiative of a lot of people acting constructively in various fields of national life. We should trust that NSZZ Solidarity will expand more and more and cement itself in place, defending the rights of each employee, and that at its extraordinary congress the party will manage to set the direction for the speedy repair of our economy. Work in this direction will unify all Poles, because it is a question of the highest good, of a better future for our country.

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GDANSK SHIPYARD PARTY CHIEF QUITS, CITING DEMOCRACY LACK

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 27 Feb 81 p 9

[Article by Mika Larsson]

[Text] Until the Polish Communist Party becomes democratic there will be no guarantees for democracy in the society. This is a common belief in Poland today. But is anything happening within the Communist Party? What is happening?

Jozef Wojcik has resigned. He is no longer in the party leadership at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. New times have come and Jozef has adapted himself to them.

"I have been party chief at the shipyard for two terms," he says. "We have decided within the organization that from now on no one should hold such a position for more than two terms, no one in the whole country. This is why I did not run for the office."

It was at the Lenin Shipyard that the workers rose up. It was there that the signal was given for last fall's historic upheaval in Poland. It is also at the Lenin Shipyard that the Communist Party has come furthest in developing new working procedures. Last weekend a new party leadership was elected by secret ballot. This is the first large company in Poland that has chosen the party leadership in a democratic manner.

For several months, throughout the country, new working procedures have been demanded within the Polish Communist Party. Like the workers, party members are demanding written, detailed guarantees that their voices will be heard.

The most recent revolt in Poland differs from previous revolts in that it has penetrated all social sectors in all parts of the country. The labor movement Solidarity has around 10 million members. A million of them are also members of the Communist Party.

It is natural that the workers' demands for democritization and for dealing with the profiteers of the past are also being made within the ranks of the Communist Party itself. It is also natural, the Poles believe, that the changes have been the greatest in Gdansk.

It was in Gdansk that the tanks were used in 1970. It was there the first shots were fired against the workers the following year. The memory of these killings has been etched into the minds of all who were there.

The people in Gdansk have had 10 years to draw their conclusions.

Of the Lenin Shipyard's 16,000 employees, 3,100 are members of the Communist Party. This is just under 20 percent of the labor force. A good 300 have left the party since August and 12 have joined. A few have also been expelled from the party.

While there are 3,000 party members, there are 14,360 members of Solidarity. The other 1,500 members of the labor force either belong to no organization or are still members of the metal workers' union, the deeply compromised union that before the revolt was the only union allowed and that is now trying to rehabilitate itself with the employees. The party apparatus at the shipyard is doing the same.

Jan Labecki is the new party chief at the Lenin Shipyard. Of seven candidates, he received an overwhelming majority of the votes. The seven came from an assembly of 300 delegates who were elected from each department of the shipyard.

From top to bottom: that was the former principle of "elections" at the Lenin Shipyard. The top decided who would receive which position and the decision was confirmed in open "elections" at the lower levels.

From bottom to top: that is the principle upon which the most recent election was based at the largest job site in the region. Delegates to the congress are elected by secret ballot, who in turn--also by secret ballot--appoint both the party chief and the 49-member assembly, which during the upcoming term will be the highest decision-making organ. These 49 assembly members--by secret ballot--will elect a party committee of 15 members.

At all levels, the number of candidates is unlimited and no candidacy can be announced before the election meeting begins. Before the election, each candidate must answer questions in complete openness. Each of these principles contradicts not only what took place previously, but also the current election instructions of the Communist Party.

"We have decided," Grzegorz Czernielewski says, "that the election principles we members have drawn up shall be followed."

The new party chief Jan Labecki is in his forties, works and has been employed at the shipyard for over 20 years. He is also one of the 130 members of the Polish Communist Party's Central Committee. There he was one of the most critical members during the fall session, as he was during the eighth session 2 weeks ago as well, when he strongly criticized the campaign against the antisocialist forces in the country and said that these forces were to be found to a great extent in the ranks of the party itself.

"The past has taught us," Labecki said in his speech, "that whenever a problem arose it was easiest to place all blame on the antisocialist forces and the problem was thereby solved. But this method guarantees only that we again are falsifying reality. The truth is something entirely different."

"Everyone must obey the law, but does this also apply to people in the government and in the Politburo who, as we know, had dirty hands? Is it not so in reality that these people make up the antisocialist forces," Labecki said, and continued: "I believe that to put a decisive end to the crisis we must cleanse our own hands. If we do not, others will come and do it for us."

"After that, we will sit at the negotiating table with whoever wants to come--in front of the TV cameras. Let the people themselves decide who is right. Then, I am convinced that they will choose in favor of socialism."

Labecki is an example of a new type of Communist Party activist who is coming forward more and more often in the Polish debate. These are members who have kept quiet for a long time, but have attained top positions in recent months. They are still a small minority in the power apparatus of the Communist Party, but the demand for reform is growing around them.

And they have their sights set on the extraordinary party congress that is expected to take place early this summer.

9336
CSO: 3108

DISSIDENTS ACCUSED OF PLAYING MOSCOW'S GAME

Paris LE FIGARO MAGAZINE in French 14 Feb 81 pp 50, 51

[Interview with Monsignor Virgil Gheorghiu by Jacques Lebeau, date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Consciously or not, the dissidents are playing Moscow's game, accuses Virgil Gheorghiu. He also reveals to us the affair of the false synod conducted by the KGB to distract Christians' spirituality.

[Question] Last week, three Romanian exiles, Mr Nicolas Penescu (former interior minister), Mr Paul Goma, writer, residing in Paris, and Mr Servan Orascu, President of the Romanian Democratic Circle, residing in Cologne, Germany, received booby-trapped packages. You who are yourself exiled, Monsignor, what do you think of those criminal attempts?

[Answer] When, in 1975, the services of the Romanian "Securitate" chose to kill here in Paris my Bishop, Monsignor Ionesco, they did so with that unheard-of Machiavellianism which the Bulgarian secret services have used in recent years to murder 3 refugees in London with poisoned umbrellas....In short, when they want to kill, they kill! That is why the business of the booby-trapped packages leaves me skeptical. What is certain is that in my opinion most of the people who arrive from Romania today are suspect. In fact, they do not let you leave Romania unless "they" are willing....Like me, Nicolas Penescu arrived in France clandestinely and on foot after having served 16 years in prison. As for Paul Goma, I don't know him as well, but chance arranged for me to be at Orly at the time of his arrival from Romania, and he had traveled first class, if you please! Goma belongs to the group of "dissident scouts" of whom most are there to make a diversion but who for the most part are not formally opposed to the Communist Regime. Goma is not persecuted for political reasons and he is not the first one to have had his telephone cut off in Romania! I would not be astonished furthermore to learn soon that the attempt which he attributes to the "Securitate" is nothing more than a settling of accounts between rival "teams" of the Eastern services. Penescu was wounded and hospitalized in a serious state but Goma was luckier....I ask myself a great many questions: First Goma joined the Romanian PC [Communist Party] in 1968, and it was as a member of the party that he talked back to the regime....There is a man who, according to his own statements, was threatened with death several times, who receives a package from Madrid, opens it, discovers a book on the memoirs of Khruschev in Spanish, he opens that book which contains a battery and a spring, he closes the book again,

takes it into the bathroom and hides it under a rug, what calm! Since he has been in France what does Goma live on?...Who finances his trips to the United States and Canada?...It is true that he works for Radio Free Europe and that each time he speaks there he gets two dollars a word! His father-in-law is, you must know, one of the current "counselors" of the Romanian Communist Regime, which permitted him to leave Romania with an exit visa in complete legality.

[Question] You speak of "dissident scouts" of whom 90 percent are in the West as a diversionary tactic. That is an extremely serious accusation that will upset many consciences! Does that mean that you are putting into question the very notion of "human rights"?

[Answer] Absolutely not, but I am obliged to recognize that if mankind has rights it also has some duties and first of all the duty to see the real problems where they are. The sacrosanct dogma of "human rights" becomes little by little for the majority of Western minds who dream only of being appeased with a bargain-rate conscience, with cream pie..., a comfortable antiseptic against the true realities.

Since my arrival in France in 1948 I have seen many refugees, many "dissidents" arrive from the East....

It is painful for me to recognize that outside of Vladimir Maximov and Alexander Solzhenitsyn, two extraordinary and sincere anticommunists, the immense majority of the other "dissidents" continue to believe that "the ship is good and it is only necessary to change the captain." As for me, I cry out with Maximov and Solzhenitsyn that that ship is leaking everywhere and in a shipwreck it will drag down with it all those who, in spite of the suffering they have endured, want us to share their hypnosis.

By making scouts of most "dissidents", we are hypnotized in our turn by their trials, but it is their message, which can be summed up thus: "I have suffered, but socialism is good in its essence and I am still a socialist," that gets along well and contributes, whether they are conscious of it or not, to playing communism's game. I respect the suffering of the "dissidents" for having shared it but realism makes me declare that consciously or not they are devilishly manipulated for the most part!

[Question] That business of the booby-trapped package is in the hands of the DST [Directorate of Territorial Surveillance] and it is the State Security Court which henceforth has charge of the inquiry. Therefore it becomes an affair concerning the security of France....

[Answer] In reality, few people in the West know that the most numerous Eastern spies in France are Romanians organized by the Soviets.

Everywhere, in the radio stations, the newspapers, the television stations, even the publishing houses, the "securitate" places its disinformation specialists, its blackmail or destabilization specialists...a very effective "6th column"! You remember certainly that marvelous Romanian musician who played the flute, who lived in Paris, on Tronchett Street, with his "troupe" made up of 40 persons who were all members of the Romanian secret services! I wrote a book on that subject and after its publication he and his men were discretely repatriated to Bucharest. Paris is infested with Romanian "recruiting" agents who are particularly interested in the defrocked priests of the Catholic Church and in unemployed teachers. The goal is to make "ad hoc" orthodox priests out of them, completely at the service of their manipulator. They are paid large sums on a monthly basis.

Others have been recruited to write or cause to be written in the French press that religious liberty exists in the Eastern countries as well as on the necessity of convoking a great "orthodox" council whose strings will be manipulated in reality by the KGB.

[Question] Could you give us some details on that project that the KGB services would have conceived?

[Answer] The idea is Machiavellian! The communists have spent several billions to carry out that project of the false council which was to be held in 1978 near Geneva. That "great and holy council," prepared more than 30 years earlier by the Soviet services. The goal of that fantastic operation: to recover for the profit of communism alone the spiritual energies which religions awaken and channel! The organization of that council was confided by the Soviets to the Romanian Secret Services and minutely concluded in the Monastery of Neamts, in Romania. That council was to be called the "eighth ecumenical council" and its dogmas proclaim the absolute truth of the "earthly paradise," but twisted to the profit of communism. The church's itinerary will no longer be eschatological but historical: "Heaven" having been eliminated from the itinerary, the church's route becomes "terrestrial." That task is all the easier since man is naturally idolatrous.

The Real Situation

In 1966 the "comrade archbishop," Baron Alexis von Heideger (secretary of the Holy Russian Synod and "metropolitan" of the Baltic Countries) as well as the "Metropolitan" Nicodemus of Leningrad went to Bucharest as special envoy of the Supreme Soviet for the purpose of verifying the preparatory works for the council. The Turkish Archbishop Hilion was received in Bucharest as the official host of the "Romanian People's Republic" and of the "Holy Orthodox Church" and it was he who was officially required to send out the invitation for the great and holy council. For several days, in Bucharest, the greatest names in spirituality were driven around in luxurious limousines belonging to the Communist Party.

There were there Bishop Henry Gordon Hill of Canada, the Reverend Arthur Allchin, Canon of Canterbury, Monsignor Wilhelm Wissen, Catholic theologian from Cologne, Pastor Phillip Potter, secretary general of the "Geneva Ecumenical Council", Monsignor Olof Sundby, Primate of the Swedish Lutheran Church, Bishop Mervin Stockwood, of the Anglican diocese of Southward, etc. The Turkish Archbishop Hilion was constrained to collaborate with the special Soviet and Romanian services which had documents and photographs of him showing him serving in a Greek uniform during the war against the Turks and threatening him to transmit those documents to the Turkish Government if he did not accept the task of convoking and holding the council.

[Question] However, the very organization of that council by the communist leaders, does it mean that they have taken account of the extreme importance of the individual....Which is the very contrary of the dogma of the masses?

[Answer] Exactly..., that is the very base of the new communist sociology, in a word one of its principal elements, and I recognize that it is a change which is still difficult for us to assimilate but that is the way it is.

Romania is using that energy already. For nuclear energy, special and costly plants have been constructed....To exploit the energy of the social atom, the individual, the plants that already exist are being used: the churches. The Communist Party in Romania has been repairing and constructing churches for 30 years, the cassocks are paid for and the priests are paid with money from the Communist Party, everything goes on as it did before.... There is a slight difference almost, but no one has spotted it yet: there is a change of direction. Heaven is no longer in the sky but on earth! The destination of the faithful embarking on the ship of the church is no longer the "heavenly paradise" but the paradise constructed by man on earth: The collective paradise. It is therefore automatically engaged in its struggle for the realization of communism, that is, of paradise. Fortunately, we have been able to scotch the holding of that council whose consequences would have been incalculable. That check is my greatest victory! In 1977 in the precincts of the Soviet Consulate General in Instanbul....It is not the Holy Ghost who presided over the last meeting of the council fathers who were preparing the synod, but Comrade Orlov, the Soviet consul general. Facing those facts, I decided to make the real situation public.

[Question] What is the situation today, Monsignor, with regard to that little piece of free Romania which is the Paris Orthodox Church?

[Answer] We have always had a dramatic situation. That tiny territory of 556 square meters in the midst of Paris represents the symbol of resistance to communism. When the Soviets invaded Romania, everything that was in Romania on the level of this world became the property of the Red Army, the Romanian Church in Paris also. The head of that church was, for a long time, Anna Pauker--the daughter of a Belgrade Rabbi--installed by Stalin as the uncrowned queen of the country. When she came to Paris in 1945 at the pseudo-peace conference, she gave an order to the superior to celebrate a Te Deum for the occupation of Romania by the Soviets. Bishop Ionsceo refused to lend himself to that masquerade and was savagely assaulted and beaten by Anna Pauker's police. He had to take refuge for 10 years in the U.S.A. and he lived clandestinely then returned to Paris at the head of the church and was finally assinated in 1975 by the Romanian Special Services. Do you know, for example, that each time an exile from the Eastern countries dies, false heirs, often represented by a consul go to his home and take away whatever they can find with all legality, like carrion eaters.

In each embassy of an Eastern country, there is a "will and testament office." Its agents have as their mission to recover the effects of the exiles and sometimes their persons. Whence their nickname of "skinners." They are also called "Pielari" or "Shinder." Those agents have established files on several million exiles. They have recorded each tiny detail: the subject's state of health, the state of his fortune, etc. When an exile dies, the agent comes, if necessary, with the false heirs made up out of whole cloth. At need they go before the courts and the communist parties of the Western countries furnish the necessary judicial assistance: solicitors, notaries, lawyers. Every country where exiles live has its resident skinner who has exclusive enjoyment of his "hunting territory." Certain exiles have chosen to protect themselves judicially under the label of "life interest" or of "foundation." They have never succeeded. Everywhere and always the skinners have gotten everything. As for me, all my work, my next book will be taken over on my death. The horrible reality is that I too am working in this way for the services of espionage of the East.

12,116
CSO: 3100

SPILJAK INTERVIEWED ON LABOR ISSUES, PUBLIC DEPORTMENT

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 181, 31 Jan 81 pp 14-16

[Interview with Mika Spiljak, member of the Presidium of the Council of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions and chairman of the Committee for Preparation of the Third Congress of Self-Managers, by Mihajlo Kovac, DUGA editor in chief: "In Life There Is Some of Both"]

[Text] The subject of our interview has left behind him quite a number of years of life and also of political and revolutionary work, which have arm-in-arm traced out the career of this man in many responsible party, government and other political positions. Today he is a member of the Presidium of the Council of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions and he also has the special duty "for a certain time"--as chairman of the Committee for Preparation of the Third Congress of Self-Managers, which will be held this June in Belgrade. He is not one of those politicians who "converse" only by means of questions put in advance. This characteristic of his, one which every newsman will applaud but which will not be met with often in the world of professional politics, was again confirmed in the interview for DUGA which was conducted by Mihajlo Kovac, editor in chief and managing editor. It began, of course, with the principal topic--the Third Congress of Self-Managers....

What Will Associated Labor Have To Say

[Question] Both previous congresses of self-managers left behind quite visible traces in the constitutional and legislative changes which were indispensable to continuation of construction of the self-management system. Today the times are somewhat different; there is not much to add to the papers and commitments....

[Answer] What lies before us, it is true, is no longer a search for new strategies, but the need to achieve what we have initiated. For instance, the basic organizations have been formed, work organizations and complex organizations have been set up as associations, and this is a huge job that has been accomplished. However, it is time to ask a serious question: To what extent is all this in conformity with the constitution? Small organizations deficient from the technological and economic standpoint and indeed even from the standpoint of self-management represent one extreme. At the other hand are the very large basic organizations with a work force numbering 1,000 or more, in which the essence of the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor cannot be applied, since direct decisionmaking by the worker is not possible in them.

Many compacts and self-management accords have been signed, but they are not being enforced. Many of them went only half way. Why? To what extent are they cramped by the issuing of enactments and legislative regulations, so that it is difficult for self-management to break through as the dominant relation? The congress of self-managers must also settle this issue. Then there are the questions of realizing and distributing income, productivity and optimum production, and last and most important--the pooling of labor and capital, which, to tell the truth, is going very slowly.

[Question] We have applied the objective "socialism" to the domain of socialized labor, although actual practice is not exactly giving us a great deal of encouragement in this respect. How do you interpret this slowness and caution in the pooling of labor and capital?

[Answer] You are putting to me the question that lies behind the holding of the congress. There are many reasons. Some basic organizations have closed themselves off like some sort of self-sufficient feudal estates. This is where the real causes stem from. Then again, income has not always been returned all the way down to the basic organization, but is formed at the level of the work organization and sometimes even the complex organization, and is then doled out to the basic organizations. In such a case the worker is not in a position to decide on his income and to orient his behavior toward augmenting income.

The distribution of personal incomes according to work is not sufficiently stimulative, especially to the joint staff services or specialists, whose work is not measured adequately for them to be truly motivated to realizing larger income through their efforts and through establishment of ties based on shared income.

It is also a fact that legislative and self-management enactments have "fully prescribed" many such things which--in price policy, for example--have artificially augmented the income of one, and put another in the position where he can hardly get along. It will be difficult for two such partners to combine their efforts.

Stable conditions for the conduct of economic activity are a topic on which we must also have something to say at the congress. Unfortunately, deep-seated regional interests cannot be reconciled by decree and proclamation. It must be understood that we will never have ideal conditions, but we must constantly fight to correct the oversights and shortcomings. At the congress, then, the authority of the delegates of associated labor should "begin to be heard."

[Question] The congress is scheduled for June, but the preparations were announced back in September 1980. I have the impression that all this activity is still confined to various forums and committees, while the self-managers know little about it and have not been very much involved in all this.

[Answer] That impression is largely accurate because we have lost nearly 4 months setting up the organization.... We elected republic committees, working groups within them, committees in the communes, and their working groups. While we were setting up that mechanism, we drew up guidelines and theses, and 4 months went by. In that sense we are certainly running behind.

But I would not say that there is no discussion taking place within associated labor. Organizations of the LCY have been raising many topics concerning the Congress of Self-Managers in their regular activity, as have the trade unions and other organizations. The debate concerning the theses has also begun, but the atmosphere has not sufficiently warmed up as yet, the press has not been sufficiently involved, and thus the impression is gained that we are marking time. That real and desirable debate throughout associated labor is behind schedule. It is important that the responses crystallize out as soon as possible to the question of where our self-management is catching on a snag, but along with them the constructive experiences as well, which need to be affirmed and learned from.

The Stagnation Was Inevitable

[Question] I have heard of a heart-warming incident involving a worker who is a member of the Committee for Preparation of the Congress of Self-Managers and who asked that prices not be raised at least until this meeting takes place. Honestly, what happened to prices last year resulted in undivided and understandable public dissatisfaction. The trade union bore the greatest....

[Answer] I know what you have in mind. The trade union was not sitting with its arms folded. But how much could actually be done is another question.

The basic problem lies in the enormously high investments (40 percent of income), which no society, however rich, could support painlessly. The hunger for investments has been felt everywhere from the local community to the Federation. We can understand this, since we are a developing society, we have people who are unemployed, we need more schools, hospitals and so on. The excessive spending was, of course, covered by higher prices as well as by foreign indebtedness. Sooner or later that bill had to be paid. If we were to begin to pay off the debts, real personal incomes had to rise slower than productivity. In spite of that, it is interesting that personal consumption has not dropped, but is up 1.5 percent, which is thanks to the workers employed abroad, to tourism, to the peasants, but also to the large amount of earnings realized outside of regular employment. According to our studies, between 3 and 4 million people in the total work force of 5.7 million in the socialized sector have additional sources of income. The high level of spending creates a demand for services as well. Today it is easier for you to get a doctor to make a house call than a plumber! A great deal of construction is being done, and here again there are large opportunities for earnings. The trade union had to bear all that in mind when it formulated its demands for protecting the standard of living. We agreed to a somewhat lower real personal income, but then the point came where we said--that is enough. The Federal Executive Council concurred in this.

[Question] Yet prices are only the resultant of many shortcomings whose roots strike rather deep....

[Answer] That is true. I intentionally spoke about the cases of that same grouping in which some collectives realize fivefold larger income than others under the same conditions and with the same price pattern. In many places personnel are poor, primitivism is dominant in behavior, technocracy is dominant in operation....

Neither from the business standpoint nor the standpoint of self-management have they organized themselves properly. As a rule a good system of distribution is also lacking under such conditions, the political effort to "quiet" and on the periphery; the trade union, and indeed even the CK, cannot do good work, nor are they strong enough to [illegible]

Differing conditions for the conduct of economic activity from grouping to grouping in the economy are another part of the problem. These "conditions" are sometimes not their own doing, since they are administratively defined through prices, the foreign exchange system and other regulations. Under such circumstances it is, of course, more difficult to consistently enforce the principle of distribution according to work and self-management, to organize the job and the production process as they should be, to remunerate people for their work as they ought to be, when administrative measures have taken away a portion of the income of some and nonchalantly handed it to others.

[Question] The thesis recently encountered quite frequently to the press that our working class should not be excessively politicized has to do with precisely this. Under conditions like these for the conduct of economic activity, certain segments of our working class, it is said, exposed to the adverse effect of the market economy in which there are diverse partial interests, cannot objectively attain a level in development of class consciousness which we would denote as unreserved commitment to the relations of self-management socialism.

Good Workers and Dawdlers

[Answer] All these problems do exist, but various people and groups put them to use for various purposes. For instance, when we say that conditions are unequal for the conduct of economic activity, then some people appeal to the government to intervene and regulate all conditions for the conduct of economic activity, in other words, to determine the income of certain industries and groupings, and to solve the whole matter in an old way. In this case there is no self-management. The essential thing is for the producers, the self-managers, to enter into association on their own and to establish ties based on shared income--from the ore, say, to the finished product and to [illegible] many of their own relations. Then there will be less need for government regulation.

Of course, the problem of investments is essentially a problem of differing interests. We will not emerge from this quickly or easily, or can we quickly establish ties and relations based on shared income, as envisaged in the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor. We know what we want, but we do not always know how to go about it. We have been working on the law concerning expanded reproduction for several years, and we still cannot find the right solutions, not because we lack the will, but because we cannot at the moment find the right solutions, but this does not mean that we will not find them.

To return to the working class. It is certain that it is not united in all respects. The labor force, which after the war numbered 600,000, has now grown to 9.7 million. A large portion of illiterate people from rural areas have flowed over into the working class, yet [illegible] highly skilled workers

represent more than 60 percent of the work force. This is a tremendous result. But it cannot be said that all this is uniform. The enormous majority are very good workers, but there are also dawdlers. Much depends on the organization of work itself, on the overall relations which are established, on whether people are oriented toward good work. I will give you an example from the Trepca Storage Battery Factory. The director has told me that they had a system of distribution in which everyone, whether he worked or not, received the same on the basis of some sort of base pay. A group of people were constantly criticizing and always fighting for higher personal incomes, and the more they criticized, the less they worked. The director said that he would flee the factory just in order to avoid meeting that group of people. However, they began to evaluate jobs and tasks, and nearly every worker knew how much he earned for the day. On the day when I visited Trepca, one worker had the lowest earnings--8,000, and the other the highest earnings--32,000, while until virtually the day before they had been receiving the same. This group has continued to make its efforts with criticism, but when they saw that nothing would come of it, they became the best workers. The director told this in front of them, and no one denied it.

If we set up a good organization of work and a good system of distribution, so that people cannot obtain earnings through criticism and uproar, the working class, I am convinced, will be more unified. The good worker will obtain his rightful place, and there will not even be much need to criticize the poorer worker, he will reach his level on his own. Until that occurs, stratification is possible, especially today when we have two scales for distribution, one in production and another in the joint staff services.

[Question] The next topic is "noneconomic," but it is equally relevant: implementation of Comrade Tito's initiative concerning collective work, supervision and responsibility.

[Answer] I think the initiative came at the right time. It answered the question which had been posed for a great number of years: what will happen after Comrade Tito's death? The initiative concerning collective work has been implemented in organizations whose charters and bylaws could be adapted without major problems or waiting for congresses. I will speak about experience in the trade unions. I think that work has not slacked off, but is indeed better than it was. When Comrade Potrc, who was not in the war (he was born on the very eve of the war), became chairman last May for a 1-year term, stories went around in the Council of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions that it would not be easy for him to replace me. Those doubts, however, proved to be entirely baseless. Potrc has gotten his bearings wonderfully, which is a normal thing under the conditions of collective work, where the forum does not depend exclusively on the chairman. The same can be said of the republic trade union councils. With the additional remark that collective work will be better and better every year. We need to adjust the personnel structure to the idea of collective leadership, to select a certain number of people any one of whom could be chairman, and within that strong team do everything to develop collective work and responsibility and break down the system of "presidents and chairmen," in which too much of this was assigned to the president or chairman. The initiative has also been carried out so far in the Socialist Alliance, the Federation of Veterans, the LCY and also in certain bodies which are not bound by

bylaws. This spring new republic presidents of the League of Communists will be elected; they will supervise preparations for the congresses. And in government agencies as well, in accordance with the amendments to the constitution, things will change. There is no need to be nervous about it, this is something we are getting to. It will all be carried out and enforced. The initiative is proceeding, though I do not think that all people in our country have received it with equal cordiality, and even when they have accepted it, some people impart to it a burden of the previous conception of the leading figures in forums.

[Question] How is the fight being waged against professionalism in the trade union, beginning with the federal assembly all the way to the grass-roots organizations?

[Answer] It would be good for the election of all leaders to be subject to critical evaluation of associated labor and the [illegible] that we have the better for our self-management development. We do not have a large number of professionals in the trade union. There are none at all in basic organizations and work organizations. But there does exist professionalism in another sense of the word. That is, when people from a work organization take up political positions, they are reluctant to return to the organization from which they came. With the introduction of collective work and responsibility, members of the forum change, people return to their previous job, and this automatically operates against professionalism. Collective leadership in and of itself operates against the professionalism we did not want, though in the application of collective leadership there may be circumvention. I know some communes where almost all the leaders (the chairman of the trade union, the chairman of the League of Communists, the chairman of the Socialist Alliance, and so on) have gone off to other positions, and no one has gone back into production. This is bad practice and a bad trend. We cannot support this situation. At the beginning it is true that there may be various deviations which are not in the spirit of Comrade Tito's idea, but we will also learn from those mistakes.

[Question] To what extent can political prestige be a guarantee of good performance of an economic function? That is, there are people--not just workers--who leave political positions to become directors of large work organizations, and some of them are not showing up in the best light.

[Answer] You are taking negative examples. There are also leaders who have proven themselves to be good business executives. There is also the other side of the problem: when someone has acquired experience in leadership, when he has mastered the system and self-management relations, if he is professionally competent, he can be welcomed to the work organization. But if he has not acquired all this, and is then sent to a management position, political experience alone will not give him sufficient help. We must always be mindful of the specific person and ask ourselves how capable he really is as a leader.

[Question] Here and there there has been talk recently about the behavior of officials, above all from the standpoint of the requirements of economic stabilization and the relative scarcity in which we live. The reference is specifically to the need for more modest behavior in spending the resources of society, and all of this is being associated with ethics.

[Answer] If someone has been elected to a position, and most of these people are party members, if he is not a modest and industrious person and has no respect, he cannot be an official, a good official. Those shortcomings will show up sooner or later. We must in principle always bear in mind when people are being elected to positions of leadership that they be professionally competent and industrious people, that they have ethical and human attributes, since one is not enough without the other. Unfortunately, one does not always find all virtues in the same person. Sometimes you have a individual capable of heading something up, but he is short on the ethical side. On the other hand you have a man who is exceptionally scrupulous in his ethics, but he lacks professional competence. It is not always an easy and simple matter to make these choices, and mistakes are frequent. Finally, the trouble is not that mistakes are made, but the extent to which people are constantly checked in their affairs and the extent to which they are left to make mistakes in the absence of timely criticism and indication of those mistakes. There are few men who are ideal, and the majority have both virtues and shortcomings. If there is constant critical monitoring in the self-management system, and collective work must make a considerable contribution to that, there will be no such occurrences or there will be fewer.

[Question] Would it be ethical, for instance, for you to collect money for this interview?

[Answer] I will respond by my actions. I have never collected money for any interview which I have given. For some 20 years now, perhaps even 25, I have not received a fee for any article, because I always felt that this was part of my regular activity. That has been my view, it is my view now, and that is how I conduct myself. This is my opinion.

[Question] You did not receive a fee even for a book?

[Answer] No, I didn't. However, here we are on uncertain terrain. If someone writes a book, then he invests work of his own beyond his regular duties in that effort. I am not against payment for work of that kind. I do not believe that that is unethical.

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SETINC DISCUSSES OPPOSITION, CRITICISM OF SYSTEM

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 6 Mar 81 pp 7-8

[Interview with Franc Setinc, secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, by Mirko Arsic: "The Problem Lies in Us, in the Differences Between What Has Been Declared and What Actually Exists"]

[Text] We have spoken with Franc Setinc, secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, about the most recent developments on our ideological front--about social criticism and our intellectual laziness; about that outlook which proclaims every attack on the viewer's own bureaucratic position as an attack on the system and the League of Communists; about the meaning of oppositionist views of our society, but also about the "opposition" to inflation and the ways of a consumer society; about those who believe that everything lies in material values and status symbols; about what is referred to as a legal opposition and about the pathways of ideological and political differentiations in our context today.

[Question] The first question which we put to Comrade Setinc concerned the stand of the League of Communists toward an opposition, which has been talked about more and more recently, as well as our shortcomings which we sometimes neglect or do not notice.

[Answer] We can speak about an opposition in our context only from the standpoint of its struggle for power, for monopoly--that means also a struggle against freedom (Franc Setinc said). An opposition is always dangerous when it is underestimated, when its importance is played down, and also when it is magnified.

But we should be mindful of the fact that our shortcomings are actually our greatest enemy. They are creating the conditions and opportunities for activity on the part of those working against our country's vital interests. In the struggle against all types of oppositionism we ought certainly to act more aggressively and openly--in the context, of course, of our efforts to realize everything that comprises the essence of socialist self-management. We need still more public confrontations. In that sense it means little to present in public the name of some individual alleged to be acting against our interests, when the public knows nearly nothing about his machinations, his statements and his activity. We must stay away from that.

Yet the Main Problem Lies in Us

I would recall the idea of Edvard Kardelj, who said that the enemy is not our main problem. That is, it is not the resistance to self-management that constitutes our main problem. The essential thing for us is manifested in our ability or inability to organize ourselves effectively and in line with self-management so that we can successfully perform our current and long-term tasks. Everything else depends on that. We are relinquishing our own weapons to the enemy when in failing to note our own shortcoming we are slow and ineffective in solving the problems.

At times we are in fact our own enemies. The problem, then, lies in us, in differences between what has been declared and what actually exists, in our unwillingness to accomplish the policy which we have set forth.

Let there be no misunderstanding, I am not underestimating oppositionist activities and oppositionist platforms, but I am against their being taken as the only danger to our society. That frightens me, since we could cause our workers to confine their attention solely to that. Sometimes the opposition is made up of groups which are marginal both in their number and in their actual influence in society, since they have no social support of any breadth (I am speaking about the situation in Slovenia). I say this because overstating certain phenomena might give our people the impression that we should devote great energy to the struggle against the opposition, even more than to solving our urgent social problems.

(Setinc then said that criticism and self-criticism are essential elements of the Marxist approach to reality.)

We must be more critical.

We should verify our positions and our policy in practice every day. We should be willing to look at our shortcomings openly. We must not fail to back up our words with deeds. We acknowledge that we are a society with conflicts and not a harmonious society. But it is not enough for us to merely acknowledge those conflicts, we must also resolve them in a democratic way.

[Question] Those are our arguments against the oppositionist activity of individuals and groups.

[Answer] We do not have any better arguments. We must, as Kardelj said, contrast the oppositionist and antisocialist platforms with the creative results of our own self-management development. That is the most essential thing. If we say that someone's ideas are sterile and nonsensical, the best way to prove it is not merely to say that they are senseless, but to contrast them with our creative ideas--which have already confirmed themselves in practice as fruitful ones.

[Question] Sometimes we do not publish the texts which we are criticizing. Some people are not even aware that in this way we are displaying a certain intolerance.

[Answer] In the struggle against attempts to falsify the National Liberation Struggle, for example, we did not in Slovenia fight by merely mentioning someone's name

and someone's views—that is, with [illegible]. We would not achieve much if we did not make those views public (the [illegible] may). Kocbek published his views in Trieste, but we also published ours. What did we achieve by that? We familiarized our working people with those views and they so to speak became our principal witnesses that [illegible] an attempt to distort the truth about our national liberation struggle.

We did not, of course, discredit Kocbek as a poet. We even protested on one occasion when people were preventing his public appearance.

Likewise we would achieve nothing, if we prohibited the publication of an initiative to establish a new review, if we prohibited a dialog. What we said was: "You've appealed to a certain public [illegible] we will [illegible] a dialog in the Socialist Alliance, we will talk about your platform." What would we gain if we merely said that in Slovenia there is a certain initiative to establish a journal and yet did not publish it? That would be poor, we would only create the mistaken impression that we are weak and are therefore afraid, that we have no arguments nor ability for a public confrontation. And otherwise we would be criticized: "And now, you are not willing to have a dialog and discussion, yet you are constantly insisting on it!" No one can be categorized a priori. We must first be offered an opportunity to express his views, and then we will see their true value.

Of course, this position as a rule of behavior cannot be confirmed and defined by exceptions, in the case, say, of texts whose content is openly hostile, texts which offend human decency and morality. In my view a dialog should not be carried on with the authors of such texts, but a struggle should be waged against them and the public should be informed about the character and goals of their activities--with arguments and evidence, of course.

How the Bureaucrats Defend Themselves

[Question] Comrade Setnikar, there is a difference in critical opinions, between an opinion which is at variance from and an opinion which is essentially opposed to the values and principles of our society. It is unthinkable not to see some difference between these categories. There are [illegible] categories. There are times when a critical attitude toward some phenomenon in society which deserves criticism is proclaimed to be an opposition[illegible] view.

[Answer] Yes, there is also some of that. That phenomenon is related to our intellectual laziness, but often it can also be explained by the fact that some official or forum proclaims an attack on his or its bureaucratic position to be an attack on the system, on the league of [illegible] which is highly dangerous. The true nature of certain labels originating with those officials whose activity from positions of power is being disputed on a sound basis is then impressively manifested. You attack his bureaucratic way of [illegible], and he declares you to be an opposition[illegible]. What is [illegible] he is speaking of course: "The league of Communists has been attacked." But what is actually involved is a critical reflection concerning his actions. There are officials and indeed even closed and narrow forums which defend their work and their irresponsibility by saying that the party has been attacked. Of course, the solution of this problem lies in developing social

relations in which no one can be in a position where only he is right and others have to listen to him.

[Question] Such people, who are always "looking ahead," have refined their technique of hiding behind the League of Communists. It seems that their true commitment is to changing like a chameleon.

[Answer] We must truly ponder this phenomenon. If we are aware of a danger of this kind, then that is the best guarantee that we will not allow bureaucratization in the League of Communists and in society. It does exist at various levels, but mostly where a particular official has equated his own position with power. Though he makes reference to the party, to democratic centralism, he is operating from a position of power. Every justified attack on such a position--and there ought to be more and more such attacks, there ought to be an entire movement of the self-management forces against this--he declares, as I have said, to be an attack on the party. At the same time intellectual laziness is not caused solely by the possession of power; it can also arise out of a bureaucratic psychology combined with ignorance and ideological limitation.

[Question] But, as we know, there is no more dangerous ignorance than energetic ignorance.

[Answer] This is all the more dangerous because energetic ignorance may also be an expression of unwillingness to act in the spirit of the League of Communists, to carry on a democratic dialog among equal participants, and not a "dialog" from positions of authority. When you lack knowledge, you also lack the courage to enter into a dialog between equals. The easiest way is for you to reject all criticism and to start putting black-and-white labels on things.

[Question] We have never had what one might call a worker opposition. Our opposition has sprung up in political and intellectual circles.

[Answer] That is true. If the working class were against socialism and social self-management, which are just being born, it would actually be against itself.

But we pay little attention to the fact that the "opposition" to inflation and the ways of a consumer society has existed for quite a long time now. Those ways have revolted the workers for years. Within the framework of self-management the workers are fighting against that--even in the form of strikes. The question is whether we have taken a serious enough approach to this. At the 13th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee, for instance, we said--it was, as they put it, a moment of truth--that inflation is the greatest attack on the interests of the working class, since it is inflation which is alienating their work.

We demanded, for example, that investments be cut in half, but in some places they were not even touched. In many respects this also applies to other forms of spending. Many people took an oath at the 13th meeting, but in practice they did the opposite.

We dare not be so immodest as to contend, as that the working class is satisfied. It is not satisfied; on the contrary, in confronting reality it is polemical and it is highly disposed to criticism. A process is going on whereby decisionmaking on income is being democratized, but this does not mean that the working class is altogether satisfied, though it is aware of the difficulties we are having.

[Question] When I said that we did not have a worker opposition, I meant to say that worker dissatisfaction has not been political in nature.

[Answer] Our working class is not, of course, so dissatisfied as to explore certain strategies outside the system of socialist self-management, since it is within that system that it has its greatest opportunities. The workers know this quite well, and therefore they must take utility into consideration of those opportunities and mercilessly demystify all forms of alienation of their income and their work--and those constitute the largest source of unemployment and economic instability. That alienation is taking place according to its own independent logic, outside the solution of our society's problems through self-management.

[Question] It is a question, then, of an opposition and an opposition.' Which opposition is the most dangerous?

[Answer] In real terms the most dangerous opposition is the one that demands a return to state socialism, to centralist management of society--it would put in jeopardy the foundations of our society in social ownership and the directions of its future development. People who reason in that way forget that legalization of contradictoriness, democratization of society and self-management have been engendering the problems which have brought about the situation today, which truly is critical. To the end of overcoming that situation, they propose that we go backward--to statism and monolithism. They feel that we will free ourselves of our troubles through a voluntaristic redistribution of income and through leveling. This is a dangerous pattern of thought.

[Question] Nor is that opposition which starts from bourgeois views harmless.

[Answer] The dogmatic opposition gives rise to this other bourgeois one. Every opposition--but now I am speaking about the opposition which incites and not about those who are imagined or initiated (for we recognize people who turn any criticism into a great plus sign for their own privileges) the application of certain measures and thereby narrows opportunities for democratization of society. We, of course, have defense mechanisms against such dangers.

The more bourgeois and other oppositionist groups there are on the social scene, the greater pressure there is for democratic rights of the working people and for democratic development of society. This also has an essential impact on that man who has no connection at all with these groups. Any narrowing of democratic space creates conditions for the policy of a limited number of political restrictiveness. And that in turn encourages bureaucratic and statist forces. In addition, we have not advanced so far either in the level of development of the productive forces or in the level of social consciousness that we could say that socialism can develop automatically in our country.

They Ought To Be Praising Our Society

[Question] To what extent does the consumer mentality influence the basic values of our society?

[Answer] Not as much as we think. Most people are living above all within the limits of the subsistence minimum, though they are building houses, buying cars and the like. This is natural, and this is not a phenomenon of the consumer society. The greatest danger lies in the mentality which is based on the notion that we supposedly have created communist society and that we can spend according to our needs.

[Question] Is our society becoming stratified into those who spend a great deal and those who live within the limits of the subsistence minimum?

[Answer] Certain categories of people and also individuals behave that way. They think that everything lies in material values, that everything is in status symbols. Others are struggling with the problems of existence.

Many people see the possession of material things as a confirmation of their magnitude, and those are the ones we have allowed to become rich.

They are the greatest enemies of our society. There is a certain logic according to which they ought to be praising this society. However, they [do not] believe in the wholesome tendencies in this society and they are afraid that they will lose their wealth precisely because of those tendencies. We are referring to certain private craftsmen and tradesmen, certain bureaucrats and technocrats. They are the biggest rebels, they are dissatisfied because they think that our society--with the positive trend that exists today--will no longer allow them to enrich themselves, but their sole preoccupation is to become still richer.

[Question] Often this is done by members of the League of Communists as well.

[Answer] This is also done by members of the League of Communists.

[Question] Then that is a dangerous tendency.

[Answer] In my little book "Jesmo li potrosacko drustvo?" [Are We a Consumer Society?] I said that capitalist society is consumer society in the sense that it has created the consumer mentality. In that way it perpetuates its life. But it is less and less a consumer society insofar as it wishes to conceal class contradictions and conflicts in that way. I said of our society that it is a consumer society to the extent that there are certain groupings within it which are the vehicles of that tendency. It is not a consumer society, as certain theologians assert, if what they mean is that our entire orientation is actually an orientation toward the consumer society.

Arrange a Confrontation of Views and Develop a Dialog

[Question] Why do we not have enough confrontations of differing views?

[Answer] We must develop that way of going about things more and more within the League of Communists itself. Our Marxists ought to enter into open confrontations with various non-Marxist orientations in society and those opposed to self-management. The basic thing is for there to be as many such confrontations within the League of Communists as possible. And they should be concerning many issues. After all, we do not have answers to all the questions; there are no books in which we might find answers for all time. There are differing views of how we shall achieve self-management. There are income-sharing relations which are not actually based on the sharing of income, there are self-management accords which are extorted and which do not conform to self-management.

We are not developing criticism sufficiently. We are too much involved in developing what is referred to as official criticism. The resolutions of the League of Communists do not furnish answers to all the questions. In general it is a bad thing to use resolutions as a way of going about things. The party must achieve greater creative communication not only internally, but also toward the other socialist forces.

New people are coming onto the scene. They are bringing with them new dilemmas and they are putting new questions. Not only does this call for a more democratic spirit in society, in the Socialist Alliance, but it also calls for more discussions and debates within the League of Communists. After all, if the members of the League of Communists want to have the right positions, they must build those positions on the real problems of society; they must respond to the new dilemmas and answer the new questions.

[Question] Does there exist a legal opposition in our society?

[Answer] Yes. It exists even within the League of Communists. I say opposition with reservations, since it exists because of the gap between words and deeds, because of the contradictions between state ownership and social ownership, between the party in the old sense and the League of Communists as the vanguard in the context of socialist self-management. It springs up because there is too little ideological struggle. Too little, because unity should be created through a process of differentiation. We have too much differentiation when it comes to meetings, non-payment of dues, and the like, but we do not have enough ideological and political differentiations. But that kind of differentiation is indispensable both in the party and in society. The opposition we are talking about is doing the greatest damage. After all, the most dangerous opposition is the one which appears to favor the party and socialist self-management, but actually accepts all that only in words. Through the wrong decisions it is making on investments, it is working against stabilization, against the resolutions and commitments of the League of Communists--against, that is, the vital interests of our society. Decisions are made to build large projects, money is spent, and all this is done regardless of the present difficulties, regardless of the fact that certain collectives do not even have the money for the wages and salaries of their workers.

[Question] As the vanguard force of socialism the League of Communists must persist on the democratic course. Only this is appropriate to the spirit of our society and to the spirit of the programmatic principles on which it is based.

[Answer] Were we to accept that all solutions lie in administrative measures, then we would initiate an ugly process which would have no end. We would have to ask ourselves what is wrong with a society in which you have to drive people toward socialism by beating them? At the same time, if we underestimate the dangers which really exist, then there could be vacillation and a loss of our basic orientation. That happened in the time of liberalism. Many people wondered: "What is this? Are we selling out the basic values of our revolution!?" The liberals were constantly saying: "So what, why are you so afraid, why do you glorify administrative measures? We are after all strong, we are a strong society, just let all the flowers bloom." Then we asked ourselves, along with the young people: "What is this that is happening in our society? One no longer knows the right from the left." So, underestimation of the real differences can also result in unwholesome tendencies--and ultimately administrative measures become a necessity.

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COMMENTARY ASKS POLITICIANS, WORKERS TO CHANGE PLACES

Belgrade STUDENT in Serbo-Croatian 17 Feb 81 p 4

[Commentary by B. Tadic: "If You Conceive of Life in Dance-music Rhythm--or, Concerning Workers and 'Comrades'"; portions within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] The polyp of bureaucracy in Yugoslavia has been growing mightily in recent years as the economy has weakened. Easy chairs [emblem of soft jobs] have been multiplying at self-managing interest communities, representative bodies, committees, conferences, councils, advisory boards, bureaus, and chambers; and all of those easy chairs exist for the purpose of self-sacrificing concern for the welfare of blue-collar workers. The more nonessential, fabricated white-collar workers there are, the more sluggishly and sloppily administrative/political jobs are done, and at the same time the more expensive these jobs become; what is most terrible, the outcome is to push the interests of blue-collar workers into the background. The passage of the latest 5-year plan is the freshest example in a series of extensions of already extended deadlines, fudging at the last minute and afterwards as well, after-the-fact patchups, and instances of irresponsibility on the part of responsible persons.

All the earlier examples of this kind have led cumulatively to the state of the economy that we are enduring right now. The long-time "comrade functionaries" have never realized that they are at fault for the difficult situation in the economy and society at large. Rather, they sincerely think that we are all at fault, they innocently scoop up their allowances [koeficijent], costly per diem payments, etc., sincerely regarding their possession of spacious, superluxurious dwellings--one for living and working, another for living and resting, for yawning and gaping, etc.--to be no more than the realization of a natural right and universal harmony, inasmuch as these people are this society's most inspired, most deserving citizens--they are in short supply, no doubt about it. If some insignificant young and old blue-collar workers are rotting as subtenants in dank cellars and other hovels, let them, that is what they deserve. The system of distribution according to work and the results of work seems to regard the work of federal, republic-level, and opcina-level officials continuously as much more productive and more onerous than the work of some miners out in the hinterland (you see, the comrade functionaries do not classify the function of miners as a function). In truth, the responsible comrades are capable of

digging out so many self-management commitments from a tower of papers (or, in their subtle terms, "materials") while the miners are luxuriating in the attractions of the interior of the planet and doing nothing more than extracting a ton of coal or iron or lead or zinc. And while they are mining, they even have an opportunity to expand the frontiers of their perceptions in these mystical surroundings, they can acquire metaphysical experience. But what is there to say except that you have to be miserably destitute to agree (be compelled) to cripple yourself and shorten (perhaps lose) the only life that you have in a mine, alongside a blast furnace, or at some similar miserable blue-collar job for a wretched 500,000 or 600,000 dinars a month and the certainty of being swindled on housing; to let those authoritative [/nad-lezni/: word play on the component parts of the word translated here as "authoritative"--"the ones who lie on top of you"] comrades suck in an enormous amount of surplus value. A certain guy spent at least twice that blue-collar pocket money (i.e., 2 months of hard human labor) just on beverage glasses during just one of his nights of senile-hysterical alcoholic inspiration [the reference is to the disgraced head of the scandal-ridden Beograd-inzenjering firm].

The enormous "complexity" of the work is to be blamed for the extraordinarily high monetary receipts (takings), housing privileges, and other privileges enjoyed by the prominent comrades and their kinfolk. In a society proclaimed to be self-managing, a cumbersome bureaucratic apparatus exists and grows while declaring the political and administrative tasks that it has appropriated to itself to be frightfully complicated, beyond the capacities of the majority of the people and therefore privileged. At the same time, for decades they have been "advocating a radical self-managing transformation." /And that is pedantically quoted in the minutes of meetings./

Tossing scraps of words and ridiculous squeezed-out tirades into the air--such is the bulk of the aforementioned "complexity." The walls of conference halls shake to the amplified sound of:

1. "Energetic efforts."

2. "Taking principled stands."

3. "Uncompromising struggles along the lines of these conclusions."

And so forth ad infinitum. No one takes that seriously any more, of course. One does not know whether the speakers are consciously joking and have pretentions to seriousness.

That is up above. Down below, in the "base," we find exhausting work norms, assembly lines, often impossible working conditions.

Anything But Blue-collar Work

We know that the ruling social element (the element that is materially privileged) sets the tone for all of society in all realms of life. The more primitive variety of the bureaucratic/petit-bourgeois syndrome is dominant in Yugoslavia.

its general manifestations are: zeal for anything inherently minimal work; aversion to hard, productive work; greed for material things as the essence of private, self-centered happiness; panic retreat right from trivial nerlounmess into still more trivial amusement.

Young people scramble for [illegible] to shift to offices on mamo (i.e., to [illegible] the militiamen), while the authoritative comrades warble about the power of the working class. Naturally, these comrades never contemplate ever retreating to the blue-collar class; and they will stop at nothing to open the doors of dentistry, engineering, and later desirable jobs, for their sons and daughters. Presumably they did not produce offspring to lower themselves to blue-collar work and work hard. Even if the children turn out to be a little on the weak side mentally, no matter. /Stupidity can be perfectly corrected by means of titles, status, and property holdings./

Attributes of Grandiosum--Possession, Power, Success

A wild, raw, consumer consciousness has grown in Yugoslavia in proportion to the strengthening of the petit-bourgeois mentality of which it is a component part. Of course, this is not a consciousness in the narrow sense. This mixture of semiconsciousness and subconsciousness originates and exists in specific production relationships, to be sure, and in the psychological realm in a feeling of individual isolation, antagonism between the individual and the world, a feeling of impotence. Hence the craving for money, for objects, for objects as certainty, something to fall back on, as a defense; hence the insatiable need for possession--the larger the crumblet of earth that you physically possess, the greater the illusion of your own power. Hence the heedlessness with which people contend with others; others need to be swindled, you have to struggle against others either by pushing them around or licking their boots--it is all the same--for ownership, for power. Such are the fundamental mental circuits, mechanisms, and motivations of the petit bourgeois.

Consequently, a constant struggle is waged to amass private wealth. Naturally, those who are in important strategic positions partake in this egotistic struggle. Private villas/palaces for recreation multiply, people's homes are their castles the length and breadth of the homeland, perhaps the length and breadth of the world, along with the automobiles that are already monstrously threatening man both chemically and physically, plus beneficiaries of rentals from houses and multiroom apartments. People increasingly contend for socially owned housing in all sorts of vulturine ways, including nominal divorces for the sake of housing, private expenditures of [public] funds, increases in social costs in favor of larger private bank accounts--people go fishing in troubled waters in any number of fishy ways so as to obtain for themselves maximal comfort, maximal provisions, and maximal social authority, combined in the superhuman petit-bourgeois ideal of competitive success in society. Success is simply preference for an object amidst a large mass, the largest possible mass, of objects. The other side of success, of course, consists of the unemployed and the homeless, those with mini- and supermini-paychecks. At one time these were gently described and treated as "social differences." /Yet what is involved is a class struggle in which blue-collar workers lose out / in which blue-collar workers

are pauperized while the bureaucracy fattens itself and atrophies in the luxurious frogponds of paradise on earth.

Tame Flocks of West and East

In accordance with the capitalist cult of things, human ideals and human happiness have been packaged for us in objects. "A Comfortable Apartment Is Your Dream" [rhyming original]--the businessmen guess the folk's dreams exactly. "Your Bank, Your Friend in Need." "It's the Real Thing"--some icy-cold swill. The sole difference between the Yugoslav consumer consciousness and the consumer consciousness of the developed capitalist countries is our provincial and ultimately colonial submission, our adulation of the goods, industry, and technology of the developed countries. The Yugoslav petit bourgeois is only one head in a multimillion-strong herd set out to graze by the grand masters of the consciousness of "civilized man," grand masters who feed him a carefully prepared concentrate, who subtly bring to life his dependency mechanisms, a value system in which people-object relationships are inverted. The Yugoslav petit bourgeois yearns for the Anglo-American way of life (the American dream), for the brilliance and luxury of the world of objects, for painted and perfumed luxury, for English (and--up to a point--French) words and phrases, i.e., for the words and phrases of his imperial spiritual patrons, for the labels of foreign corporations. Managerial personnel buy up licenses for us with fat heaps of convertible currency, and not only for complicated products but also for mayonnaise, inferior chocolate bars, shirts, salads, onions, starches--finish the list yourself. Downright noble, that is what it is.

Blue-collar Workers' Power

What is urgent is a socialist reorientation in the evaluation of work, i.e., a radical, substantial reduction in "sociopolitical," usurious (business), and white-collar pay in general (naturally including housing "reimbursements"), along with a substantial increase in personal incomes and housing preferences for skilled manual laborers and manual laborers in general [strucno-fizickih i fizickih radnika]. That would disperse a segment of the bureaucracy, and responsible positions in administration and politics would be occupied more and more by persons motivated not by wealth and comfort but by the idea of communism. /When the secretaries of committees and self-managing interest communities and the presidents of opcinas, councils, etc., receive the equivalent of current blue-collar pay, and when smelters, miners, etc., receive current politicians' pay, then we can speak with a clear conscience about socialism./ To an economically underdeveloped country, manual labor must be properly evaluated and respected; this is an economic and not just a socialist imperative. A vital element of the same question is effective concern for healthy and the pleasantest possible working conditions in industry and agriculture. Concern with working conditions, i.e., the humanization of production, is the prime task, even the prime reason, of a socialist revolution. Technology should be banned if it is certain to harm the health of even a single worker. Technology in a socialist society not only must not be dangerous to health (that would be a rather strange suicide on the part of workers, who make the decisions in a socialist society); it must be maximally attractive and interesting to workers. In other words, the

workers, the direct producers ought to select and purchase the technology to be used, not bureaucratic hangers-on. Workers ought to decide together with architects on the design of the factory in which they will work. Have you ever encountered a single factory surrounded by a garden, a park, greenery, which is needed right there before anywhere else? Have you ever encountered a single factory with relatively agreeable architecture? Those are not questions, of course. The bureaucracy is obviously insensitive to human torment, sweat, and illness. For illness and sweat and torment are all somebody else's--the workers'. So our factories resemble production ghettos and the management buildings almost resemble castles. One similar one is called the Palace of the Federation, but don't we have a Steel Palace, Tractor Palace, Fabric Palace, and the like?

Representation funds ought to be abolished as one more way in which class differences are worsened. Responsible comrades should never again enjoy luncheons, dinners, feasts, and hunting parties at the workers' expense.

Per diem should be reduced to the equivalent of second-class train travel and an overnight stay (not including meals) at a moderate hotel.

All official automobiles ought to be returned to associated labor as part of alienated earnings. A Fiat 750 could be left with each republic-level and opcina-level assembly for the exclusive purpose of chauffeuring foreign politicians making official visits to Yugoslavia. In other words, abolish the usurped privilege of arrogant rides by "the people's leaders" (behind the tinted windshields of Mercedes vehicles) at the people's expense. Leaders need to take public transportation, ride bicycles, go on foot.

One more thing--take away the "official" status from the ridiculous male suit and tie (the civil-servant uniform--how unusual it is for only males to have a uniform), which will not be needed as at present or even desirable at political meetings and social gatherings and in offices.

But all of these are partial steps. The fundamental task of the revolution is to abolish all professionalism in political/administrative work and to simplify such work (sweep away the piles of ingrafted bureaucratic jobs, cut out the "smooth connections"). Blue-collar workers--smelters, miners, streetcleaners--should be elected to political/administrative positions for a term of a year or two, with the same pay as at their regular work st ons. Only that is real proof of the conviction that someone who is capable of working and producing is also capable of d ect administration. /Only that would be the revolutionary step that would bring workers into the center of society, that would prevent enormous bureaucratic assessments against earnings, that would prevent exploitation./

For professional politicians and administrators are automatically an authority over and above workers and society, assign themselves privileges, multiply by an internal law. For they are sitting in those positions solely for the sake of their own petty lives, not for anyone else, not for anything else whatever.

Professional administrators and the bureaucratic apparatus that goes with them are unfriendly to self-management, and self-management is unfriendly toward them.

It is high time to stop paying for blabbering, to provide humane conditions for work (effective work of course), and to begin to pay for work according to its economic value. How fresher, healthier the atmosphere in society would become! How more coherent life would become, the life of every individual!

For a person's happiness can be frustrated to an enormous extent by state, party, political system, etc., which exercise a vital influence on the circumstances that govern a person's happiness, in that the state and system...[ellipsis in original] can distort human consciousness, interfere with a person's spontaneity, harass a person, even endanger a person's health, put a person into miserable financial shape. A person cannot achieve happiness on his own, for he is a social creature and can find happiness only in an intimate human community, the realities of which are politically determined--and how! The state, political system, and party create the climate in which every person breathes, the climate that largely determines his development--development into a free, self-confident personality or into a subject. Instead of threads of confidence among people, the political system may weave a net between people that will gradually smother them. Hence, the humanization of the political system is not just a "general cause" but, above all, the personal interest of every individual.

The quality of a person's life is dependent upon that.

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